

EDITORIAL FOREWARD

In the previous issue our "Editorial Preface" traced the development of the *Bulletin* into an international papyrological journal. Over the years several colleagues on both sides of the Atlantic have advised the editors on a variety of matters. As a result of discussions that we begun at the International Congress in Vienna, we have now formally established an international "Advisory Board" (see inside title page) that will continue to provide advice to the editors in its present configuration for the next five years (until 2007).

Readers of the *Bulletin* may be interested to hear that Anne E. Haeckl was the recipient of the Women's Classical Caucus 2001 Best Oral Paper Award for her "Brothers or Lovers? A New Reading of the 'Tondo of the Two Brothers' from Antinoopolis." A revised version of that paper appeared in *BASP* 38 (2001) 63-78.

The present volume of *BASP* is divided into two main sections. The first, contains publications, republications, and discussions of literary and documentary texts, and several essays on various aspects of Graeco-Roman and early Arab Egypt (pp. 7-164). The second section consists of reviews of some very important recent publications (pp. 165-241); a substantial segment of this section is dedicated to a special review article of the *editio princeps* and the *editio minor* of the new Posidippus—the first, in fact, co-authored review article to appear in *BASP*. Contributions in both sections are arranged alphabetically by author name.

Once again the present issue was produced camera-ready in the Papyrology Rooms, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, on a Mac G4 computer and was printed on a Hewlett-Packard LaserJet 5000GN at 1200 dpi. The editors wish to express their thanks to this institution for making its facilities available to the journal. Special thanks are due in particular to Professor Thelma K. Thomas, Associate Dean of the Rackham School of Graduate Studies at the University of Michigan, for financial support towards editing this and the next issue of the *Bulletin*. Such support is vital for the continued publication and improvement of *BASP* and is always appreciated. Finally, we wish to thank Lauren Caldwell, Ph.D. candidate in Classical Studies, for her editorial assistance.

Traianos Gagos
Editor-in-Chief, and
President, ASP

A Declaration of Property from the Michigan Collection

P.Mich. inv. 6600

9 cm x 8.5 cm

60/61 A.D.¹

Plate 1

Soknopaiou Nesos

The top and bottom of this dark brown papyrus are broken. Additionally, a wedge shaped piece is missing from its lower left corner. Only the right margin, which varies from .5 to 1 cm., remains partially preserved. The papyrus was purchased in 1933-34, and a note on the original folder states that it came from Dimeh, an origin seemingly confirmed by the first extant line. The text is written with the fibers in a clear, confident hand.

The document is a property declaration ordered by the prefect Lucius Julius Vestinus and reported by a resident of Soknopaiou Nesos. Related ἀπογραφαί are *M.Chr.* 214 dating from 60/61 (first published as *BGU* I 112), *P.Oxy.* II 250 (60/61), and *SB* XII 10788a (May/June 61).² Julius Vestinus' ἀπογραφή was an attempt to update the records of property holdings and should be distinguished from the regular census of 61.³ General ἀπογραφαί of this type were decreed by other prefects. That of Marcus Mettius Rufus (89–91/92) is known from *P.Oxy.* II 237, col. VIII.27–43 (= *Sel.Pap.* II 219 = *Jur.Pap.* 59 = *M.Chr.* 192). This prefect ordered all property owners to register their possessions with the property record office within six months, all lenders to register mortgages, and all others with claims on property to register them; also the registrants were di-

¹ All dates are A.D. unless otherwise stated.

² On the dates of these papyri, see G. Parassoglou, "Property Records of L. Pompeius, L.F., Tribu Pollia, Niger," *BASP* 7(1970) 92–3. In addition, *Stud.Pal.* XXII 175, a later supplemental declaration, refers back to Vestinus' ἀπογραφή.

³ Only two returns have survived from this house-to-house census; see R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994) 184-5 and overall on the census, *ibid.* 1–30.

rected to declare the source of each of the properties in their possession.⁴ Julius Vestinus' decree must have followed similar lines, as some of these requirements are addressed in the present papyrus. Further, Mettius Rufus complained that public records were in disarray despite the best efforts of his predecessors which implies that Julius Vestinus acted similarly.⁵

The related ἀπογραφαί fall within Nero's seventh year which began in October 60.⁶ P. Mich inv. 6600 should be contemporary with these declarations.

X	[..... .. τῶν ἀπὸ Κοκ-]

	[νοπ]αίου[Νήσο]υ τῆς Ἡρακλείδου με-
	[ρ]ίδος· κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου
	[ή]γεμόνος Λευκίου Ἰουλίου Οὐηστεί-
4	[νου] προστεταγμένα ἀπογράφομαι
	[τὸ ὑ]πάρχον μοι εἰς τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν
	[ή]μέραν καθαρὸν ἀπὸ ὀφειλῆς ὑπο-
	[θ]ήκης καὶ παντὸς διεγγυήματος
8	[έν] τ[ῇ] προ]κειμένῃ κώμῃ τέταρ-

⁴ *P.Oxy.* II 237, col. VIII.31–4: κελεύω σὺν πάντας τοὺς κτήτορας ἐντὸς μηνῶν ἕξ ἀπογράψασθαι τὴν ἰδίαν κτῆσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐνκτῆσεων βιβλιοθήκην καὶ τοὺς δανειστάς ὥς ἐὰν ἔχωσι ὑποθήκας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους | ὅσα ἐὰν ἔχωσι δίκαια, τὴν δὲ ἀπογραφὴν ποιείσθωσαν δηλοῦντες πόθεν ἕκαστος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καταβέβηκεν εἰς αὐτοὺς | ἡ κτῆς{ε}ς. On this decree and on property declarations in general, see H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats* II: *Organisation und Kontrolle des privaten Rechtsverkehrs* (Munich 1978) 222–35.

⁵ *P.Oxy.* II 237, col. VIII 28–31: Κλαύδιος Ἀρεῖος ὁ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου στρατηγὸς [έ]δήλωσέν μοι μήτε τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ μ[ή]τε τὰ δημ[ό]σια | πράγματα τὴν καθήκουσαν λαμβάνειν διοίκησιν διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων μὴ κατ' ὄν ἔδει τρόπον ὥκονομῆσθαι τὰ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐν|κτῆσεων βιβλιοθήκῃ δια[ε]τρώματα, καίτοι πολλάκις κριθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐπάρχων τῆς δεούσης αὐτὰ τυχεῖν ἐπανορθώ|σεως.

⁶ Cf. Parassoglou, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) for the dates of these papyri; for Nero's regnal year, see D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle* (Darmstadt 1996) 96–8; on the "sacred" seventh and eighth years, G. Geraci, "Gli anni settimo e ottavo 'sacri' di Nerone in Egitto: un'ipotesi," *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 97–111.

[τον]. οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς
 [.....]το ἐξοικων[ο-]
 [μῶι ἢ καὶ προσαγ]οράζωι πρότ[ερον]
 12 [προσαγγ]ελῶι ὥς ὁ ἡγεμ[ών]

7 ὀφειλῆς

... from Soknopaiou Nesos of the Heracleides division. In accordance with the commands of the most noble prefect Lucius Julius Vestinus, I register my property, up to the present day free from debt, mortgage and every kind of pledge in the aforementioned village, a fourth ... of a house and courtyard ... [and if] I alienate or add [to this] by purchase I will give notice beforehand as the prefect ...

2 *M.Chr.* 214 begins ἀ[ντ]ί[γ]ραφον [ἀπ]ογρα[φ]ῆς | Ἀμμωνίῳ [καὶ Καραπ]ίῳ γ[υμ]να[σιαρ]χ(ή)σας [cf. *BL* I, 21] | βιβλοφύλαξι [τῆς ἐ]ν Ἀρσινοεῖ[τ(ῶν) πόλ(ει)] | δημοσίας βιβ[λ]ιοθή[κ]ης | παρὰ Παρόξωος το[ῦ] Παήσιος τοῦ Μυδ(ς) | ἱερέως τῶν ἀ[πὸ] Καρανίδος τῆς Ἡ(ρακλείδου) | μερίδος. For the suggestion γ[ε]γυμ[να]-[σιαρ]χ(ηκόσι), see *BL* VI, 10; J. Oates, "Ptolemais Euergetis and the City of the Arsinoites," *BASP* 12 (1975) 115 suggests Ἀρσινοεῖ[τ(η) νομ(ῶ)]. The present text likewise may have opened with ἀντίγραφον ἀπογραφῆς if this papyrus was a copy kept by the registrant. If, instead, it was an original submission, there may have been a notation made by a secretary of the record keepers in Arsinoe as in, e.g., *P.Mich.* III 179.1: ἐλ(ήφθη) ι (ἔτους) Ἐπεὶ κγ or more fully as in, e.g., *P.Mich.* III 180.1: Κόττο(ς) γρα(μματεὺς) σεση(μειωμαι). (ἔτους) ιε Μεσ(ορή) θ (this type of notation also could be subscribed as the editors point out). Whether at the top or bottom of the papyrus, such a notation would have appeared either before or after the extant part of our text. Since, however, the papyrus comes from Soknopaiou Nesos it seems more likely that this was a copy for the property owner, but we cannot be certain. The addressees of the present text were probably the same record keepers mentioned in the Berlin papyrus (the beginning of *P.Oxy.* II 250 is lost). The

names of these record keepers and their titles as well as παρά which stood before the name of the registrant would take up 79 letters or approximately three lines. The name and occupation of the owner/registrant before τῶν ἀ[πὸ] Καρανίδος τῆς Ἡ(α)κλείδου μερίδος use 25 letters or about one line. Accordingly, four or five lines are probably lost at the beginning (including the first line in the transcript, X).

Сок|νοπ|αίου[Νήσο]υ: See S. Daris, *Dizionario* v. 4 pt. 3, 296–301.

3-4 Λευκίου Ἰουλίου Οὐνηταί|[νου]: See P. Bureth, "Le préfet d'Egypte (30 av. J.C.–297 ap. J.C.): Etat présent de la documentation en 1973," *ANRW* 10.1 (Berlin 1988) 478, and, additionally, G. Bastianini, "Il prefetto d'Egitto (30 a.C.–297 d.C.): Addenda (1973–1985)," *ANRW* 10.1 (Berlin 1988) 505–17.

8-9 τέταρ|[τον] : The property was most likely purchased or inherited (there does not appear to be sufficient space to indicate that it was ceded to the declarant). If purchased, the date of the sale and the seller may be mentioned, e.g., *M.Chr.* 214.19–22: ἀπογράφομαι --- οἰκίαν, ἣν ἡγόρασα | παρὰ Ὀννώφ[ρ]ιου τοῦ Πετ-
κοραίπιος [cf. *BL* X, 11] | τῶι ζ (ἔτει) Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος |
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος or omitted, e.g., *P.Mich.* III 180.6–10: ἀπογρ(άφομαι) --- ἣν ἡγόρασα οἰκίαν. If it was inherited, the origin of the property would have been stated. Even if the information was in shortened form, there is not enough space in line 9 to indicate that the property was purchased. In this case, perhaps τέταρ|[τον μέρος πατρι]κ(όν) οἰκί[α]ς καὶ αὐλῆς (μητρι]κ(όν), παππι]κ(όν), or μαμμι]κ(όν) also are possible). The abbreviation, needed for space, is attested for each of the possible adjectives. The trace, however, of the unread letter before ο does not fit κ, nor is there any sign of an abbreviation stroke. The trace rather resembles part of a horizontal stroke or the top of ο. Since c and o are more likely than κ, μέρος]ς seems more probable; thus possibly τέταρ|[τον ὄγδοον μέρος]ς οἰκί[α]ς καὶ αὐλῆς (cf., e.g., *BGU* XV 2478.6: [τὸ ὑπάρχον ἡμ]ῖν τέταρτον ὄγδουν (read: ὄγδοον) μέρος οἰκί[α]ς κα[ὶ αὐλῆς]). This latter possibility is more plausible palaeographically and, if correct, means that the property most likely was purchased, a fact which must have been made clear in the following line.

10 [.....]το: If the text read τέταρ[τον ὄγδοον μέρος] οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς in the preceding line, perhaps in the present line we should expect: [ὁ ἡγόρασα ἐὰν δὲ τοῦ]το. For ὁ ἡγόρασα, cf., e.g., *M.Chr.* 316, col. I.20–1: τρίτον μέρος ἐκ τῆς αὐ[τ]ῆς οἰκίας, ὁ ἡγόρασα πρότερον ---. *P.Mich.* III 180.10 mentioned in the previous note, omits the date of purchase and the buyer of the property. The reading]το motivates the reconstruction of the second part of the lacuna. τ seems certain, especially since other possibilities, π or γ, make no sense here. If the reading is correct, τοῦ]το seems probable. ἐὰν δὲ τοῦ]το is not attested in ἀπογραφαί; rather we find ἐὰν δέ τι, e.g., *P.Mich.* III 181.11, but the deviation seems tolerable.

10-11 ἐξοικων[ο]μῶι ἢ καὶ προσαγ[ο]ράζωι: cf. *P.Col.* VIII 213.19–20: ἐξοικονομῶι ἢ καὶ [προσ|α]γοράζωι and also *M.Chr.* 214.23–4: ἐξοικονομήσω | ἢ καὶ προσαγο[ρ]άζωι for the only parallels. On the superfluous addition of ι to ω in final position (also in line 12), see F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I (Milan 1976) 185.

11-12 πρό[τερον] | προσαγγ[ε]λῶι: The same two texts mentioned in the previous note again provide the only parallels; *P.Col.* VIII 213.20: πρότερον προ[ο]σανγελῶι and *M.Chr.* 214.24–5: πρότερον | προσαγγελῶι. See the previous note for ι added to ω.

12 ὡς ὁ ἡγεμ[ών]: *BGU* I 112.25 ends ὡς ἐκελεύσθη; cf. also the decree of Mettius Rufus mentioned in the introduction: κελεύω οὖν πάντας τοὺς κτήτορας κ.τ.λ. (*P.Oxy.* II 237 col. VIII.31). Thus, ὡς ὁ ἡγεμ[ών] ἐκέλευσε seems possible. If ἐκέλευσε is right, perhaps the first syllable stood at the end of the line with the remainder on the following line. Even with this addition line 12 would be shorter than the others. On the left side, however, it is difficult to imagine another word that could have stood before προσαγγ[ε]λῶι. This phrase completes the registration, but as mentioned above, a docket of the βιβλιοφύλακες may have been added below, as in, e.g., *P.Oxy.* IV 715.34–7 (= *M.Chr.* 212).

ROBERT CALDWELL

University of Michigan

(to Caldwell, "A Declaration of Property ...")

Plate 1



P.Mich. inv. 6600

(Image digitally reproduced with the permission of
the Papyrology Collection, University of Michigan)

Un "Notre-Père" en copte à Médinet Abou

Le temple funéraire de Ramsès III à Médinet Abou, situé sur la rive gauche du Nil, dans la montagne thébaine, fut largement réoccupé à l'époque copte. Une petite ville du nom de Djémé s'était installée dans les ruines du temple.¹ De nombreux graffitis grecs et coptes témoignent de cette occupation. W.F. Edgerton a publié des fac-similés de la plupart de ces inscriptions en 1937.² Seules quelques inscriptions n'ont pas été reprises par W.F. Edgerton: il s'agit de deux noms gravés sur les colonnes de la grande église de

¹ On trouvera une présentation du site de Djémé et la bibliographie afférente dans T.G. Wilfong, "Western Thebes in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries: A Bibliographic Survey of Jème and Its Surroundings," *BASP* 26 (1989) 89-145, en part. 96-103. On trouvera une présentation synthétique de la ville copte installée dans le temple de Médinet Abou dans P. Grossmann, "Madinat Habu," *Copt.Enc.* 5 (1991) 1496-7.

² W.F. Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti Facsimiles*, OIP 36 (Chicago 1937) pl. 92-102 (n^{os} 342-405). Quelques inscriptions grecques avaient déjà été publiées par G. Lefebvre (cf. G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques/chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Le Caire 1907) n^{os} 368-76). — Précédemment, plusieurs inscriptions avaient été copiées par des savants français dont les dessins ont été publiés dans la *Description de l'Égypte* V, pl. 55, n^{os} 25-30: - n^o 25: graffiti démotique (= Edgerton 246, la fin des lignes 2 et 3); - n^o 26: légende des peintures murales de l'église consacré à Saint Ménas (= Edgerton 395 b, c et d, la deuxième ligne de chaque inscription); - n^o 27: légende des peintures murales de l'église consacré à Saint Ménas (= Edgerton 395, c, d et f, la troisième ligne de chaque inscription); - n^o 28: légende des peintures murales de l'église consacré à Saint Ménas (= Edgerton 395, b, c et d, la première ligne de chaque inscription); - n^o 29: graffiti grec ou copte (= Edgerton 350; Brunsch 10; *SEG*. XXXIII 1330; *SB* XVIII 13800); - n^o 30: graffiti grec ou copte (= Edgerton n^o 353; Lefebvre 369 et 370; Brunsch 13; *SEG* XXXIII 1332; *SB* XVIII 13802). De manière générale, ces inscriptions sont mal copiées (cf. H.E. Winlock et W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* I (New York 1926) 5, n. 2 "ill-copied").

Djémé (publiés par L. Stern)³ et d'une inscription placée sur le deuxième pilier de la rangée est du côté du portique dans la deuxième cour (publiée par G. Lefebvre).⁴ Sur base des fac-similés de W.F. Edgerton, W. Brunsch a réalisé une édition des inscriptions grecques et coptes de Médinét Abou⁵.

L'inscription du "Notre-Père," reproduite en fac-similé par W.F. Edgerton (*op.cit.* [n. 2], pl. 342), se trouvait dans la première cour du temple de Médinét Abou, dans l'angle sud-est, sur le mur est (cf. *ibid.* "Localisation fig. 1"). Le mur du temple a été plâtré pour servir de support à l'inscription. Suite à l'usure du temps, le plâtre s'est fortement effrité et l'inscription était très dégradée lorsque le fac-similé a été réalisé: il n'en restait que quelques fragments, principalement ll. 5-9; aujourd'hui l'inscription a disparu. Le texte est peint dans un carré, lui même inséré dans un cercle de couleur foncée. L'écriture n'est pas particulièrement soignée et le scribe n'a pas bien calculé l'espace dont il disposait (la dernière ligne du texte est écrite en petits caractères en raison du manque de place dans le carré blanc). Les dimensions de l'inscription sont inconnues. On peut la dater des VII^e-VIII^e siècle. Il s'agit en fait de la prière du "Notre-Père" en copte (Mt 6, 9-13 avec doxologie, sans particularité, ni variante, autant que l'on puisse en juger d'après les fragments conservés). Dans un article paru en 1934, W.F. Edgerton avait identifié le texte de l'inscription, sans prendre la peine de le transcrire: "Someone who lived in a mud-brick house within the

³ L. Stern, "Koptische Inschriften an alten Denkmälern," ZÄS 23 (1885) 96-102. L'auteur cite des noms inscrits sur les colonnes de la grande église de Médinét Abou (ΒΙΚΤΩΡ, ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ). Cf. aussi *P.Mon.Epiph.* I, p. 5.

⁴ G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Le Caire 1907) n° 371.

⁵ W. Brunsch, "Griechische und koptische Graffiti aus Medinet Habu," *WZKM* 75 (1983) 19-34. Cet article a donné lieu à des corrections: H.-J. Thissen, "Koptische und griechische Graffiti aus Medinet Habu: Addenda et Corrigenda," *GM* 75 (1984) 53-5. W. Brunsch a lui-même apporté des précisions à la critique de H.-J. Thissen: W. Brunsch, "Koptische und griechische Graffiti aus Medinet Habu: eine Replik," *GM* 78 (1984) 95-6. Les inscriptions grecques ont été reprises dans *SEG* XXXIII 1327-1356 et *SB* XVIII 13796-13896. — Les légendes des peintures murales de l'église consacrée à Ménas (= Edgerton, pl. 395-398) ont été étudiées sommairement dans D.N. Wilber, "The Coptic Frescoes of Saint Menas at Medinet Habu," *Art Bulletin* 22 (1940) 86-103.

first court of the temple wrote out the Lord's Prayer in Coptic on mud plaster which (unknown to him) covered a figure of the pagan goddess Sekhmet."⁶ Cette observation n'a pas été reportée dans la publication des fac-similés des inscriptions (Edgerton, *ibid.*) et a donc échappé à W. Brunsch, qui indique: "spärliche Reste von +/- 10 Zeilen, in der Mitte ist noch ωωπε zu erkennen."⁷ Je propose dès lors une édition, basée sur le fac-similé de W. Edgerton, de ce texte aujourd'hui disparu.

† Π[ΕΝΕΙΩ]Τ ΕΤ[ΕΝ Μ]
 ΠΗ[ΥΕ ΜΔΡΕ ΠΕΚΡΔΝ]
 Ο[ΥΟΠ ΤΕΚΜΝΤΡΡΟ]
 4 Μ[ΔΡΕΓΕΙ ΠΕΚΟ]ΥΩ[Ω]
 Μ[ΔΡΕΓ]Ω[ΩΠΕ] ΝΘΕ Ε[Τ]Υ
 ΖΝ [Τ]ΠΕ ΝΥΩΩΠΕ [Ο]Ν
 ΖΙΔΜ ΠΚΔ[Ζ] ΠΕΝΟΕ[Ι]Κ [ΕΤ]Ν
 8 Η[Υ ΝΓ† Μ]Μ[Ο]Υ ΝΔΝ [Μ]Π[Ο]ΟΥ
 Ν[ΓΚΩ ΝΔΝ] ΕΒΟΧ [Ν]Ν[Ε]ΤΕ
 Ρ[ΟΝ ΝΘΕ ΖΩΩΝ ΟΝ ΕΤΝΚΩ]
 [ΕΒΟΧ ΝΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΔΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ] Ν[Γ]
 12 Τ[ΜΔΙΤΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΙΡΔΑΜΟC Δ]Χ[Χ]Δ
 Ν[ΓΝΔ]Ζ [Μ]Ν ΕΒΟ[Χ] Ζ[ΤΟΟΤΥ ΜΠΠΟΝΗ]Ρ
 [ΟC Δ]Ε Τ[ΩΚ ΤΕ Τ]ΟΜ ΜΝ ΠΕΟΥ ΩΔ [ΝΙΕΝΕ]Ζ

On trouve à l'époque copte d'autres attestations épigraphiques du "Notre-Père": une inscription de la chapelle LII de Baouît⁸ et une

⁶ W.F. Edgerton, "Preliminary Report on the Ancient Graffiti at Medinet Habu," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 50 (1933/1934) 116-27, en part. 127.

⁷ W. Brunsch, *op.cit.* (n. 5), 18. H.-J. Thissen, *op.cit.* (n. 5) n'apporte pas de correction à W. Brunsch pour ce texte.

⁸ J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit*. Notes mises en oeuvre et éditées par D. Bénazeth et M.-H. Rutschowskaya. Avec des contributions de A. Boud'hors, R.-G. Coquin, É. Gaillard, MIFAO 111 (Le Caire 1999) 135-6.

inscription de l'ermitage 4 d'Esna⁹ présentent toutes deux un "Notre-Père" en grec, écrit de manière phonétique.¹⁰ L'usage de la langue grecque dans ces documents est normal: le grec est la langue usuelle de la liturgie de l'Égypte chrétienne.¹¹ L'emploi du copte dénote plutôt un usage privé. L'inscription du "Notre-Père," peinte sur le mur d'une maison copte,¹² adossée à ce qui était alors le mur d'enceinte de la ville de Djémé, illustre bien cet usage.

ALAIN DELATTRE

Aspirant du F.N.R.S. (Bruxelles)

⁹ S. Sauneron, J. Jacquet *et al.*, *Les ermitages chrétiens du désert d'Esna I. Archéologie et inscriptions*, FIFAO 29/1 (Le Caire 1972) 104, n° 66; cf. aussi. S. Sauneron, *Les ermitages chrétiens du désert d'Esna IV. Essai d'histoire*, FIFAO 29/4 (Le Caire 1972) 76-8, § 275.

¹⁰ Cf. aussi une tablette de Qarara qui présente le texte du notre père en grec écrit de manière phonétique avec l'alphabet copte (van Haelst, n° 346).

¹¹ Cf. *P.Mon.Epiph.* I, pp. 254-6.

¹² D'autres maisons coptes de Médinet Abou étaient pourvues d'inscriptions coptes ou grecques, cf. U. Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu. V. Post-Ramessid Remains*. Traduit par E.B. Hauser, OIP 66 (Chicago 1954) 49-51, p. ex. maisons 4 et 29; et fig. 54 (p. 47).

Two *Entagia* in Search of an Author*

The two *entagia*, "demand notes for taxes or services," published below, besides being housed at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University,¹ share the fact that they both were issued by Muslim officials whose names are almost completely lost. But in both cases the names may be restored with a reasonable amount of confidence.

On this documentary genre in general see H. I. Bell, "The Arabic Bilingual Entagion," *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 89 (1945) 531–42; for further references see *P.Bal.* 130 introd., and *P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 43 (Coptic examples). *CPR* XXII 6–13 are the most recent accretions to our evidence.

I. An *entagion* of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (?)

P.CtYBR inv. 71²

6.3 cm x 12.1 cm

693 ?

Plate 2³

Upper Egypt?

A fragment of a requisition order issued in the name of an Arab governor (κύμβουλος) of Egypt, probably 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (65–86/685–705), on whom see further line 2 n. If the argument holds, this is the first *entagion* in Greek issued by this governor to

* N. Gonis dealt with the first ἐντάγιον, F. Morelli with the second, but each has commented on the text of the other.

¹ Our work was based on the digital images posted at the website of the Papyrus Database of the Beinecke Library. We thank Dr R.G. Babcock for permission to publish the papyri and reproduce their images.

² The papyrus was acquired by H.I. Bell at Luxor on 6 December 1926.

³ <http://130.132.81.124/papyring/Z4183880.JPG>

be known to us, although we possess fragments of three other such texts written in Arabic.⁴ Of the three Arabic *entagia*, only one may be dated with some certainty to 79/698–9. Further references to *entagia* of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān in (the Greek) *CPR* VIII 74.4 (698), 75.3 (c. 698), and *SPP* VIII 1082.4–5 (687/8 or 702/3).⁵ However, this apparent linguistic divide is only one between fragments of documents that will originally have been bilingual: this is the case with all the *entagia* of the governor Qurra b. Šarik (90–96/709–14) of which the full height survives. In fact, the traces in line 1 of the Beinecke papyrus suggest that this *entagion* too may have been bilingual, with the Arabic part preceding the Greek, see below line 1n.

Comparison with *P.Lond.* IV 1358 (709) and 1375 (710), both letters of Qurra b. Šarik to Basileios, head of the administrative district of Aphroditō, suggests that our *entagion* concerned a requisition for the expenses of the governor's household. These letters, besides stating the purpose and objects of the requisition, refer to *entagia* which accompanied the letters and were addressed to the communities that made up the district.⁶ The Beinecke papyrus may have been an *entagion* of this kind. The requisition concerned a period of "6 months in the present indiction 7." In view of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān's term of office, this indiction 7 should correspond to the period from 1 May 693 to 30 April 694. It is likely that the *entagion*

⁴ One published by A. Merx, *Documents de paléographie hébraïque et arabe* (1894) 55–7 (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *WZKM* 8 (1894) 293–4), and two described by Karabacek as *PERF* 582–3, and published in full by W. Diem, "Einige frühe amtliche Urkunden aus der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (Wien)," *Le Muséon* 97 (1984) 111–6 (nos. 1–2). C.H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt* I (1906) 114, reports of a bilingual papyrus at Strasbourg that stems from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān and dates to A.H. 66 or 76; so far as I know, this document is unpublished.

⁵ Reedited by N. Gonis & F. Morelli, "A Requisition for the Commander of the Faithful: *SPP* VIII 1082 Revised," *ZPE* 132 (2000) 193–5.

⁶ Such texts are called "*rizq* documents" by P. Mayerson, "An Additional Note on Πουζικόν (Ar. *rizq*)," *ZPE* 107 (1995) 281.

writing exercise *P.Ross.Georg.* V 47.3, read as ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θε[οῦ Α]βδελαζ[ι]ς υἱὸς Μαρουαν.

Αβδελαζις υἱὸς(c)] Μ[α]ρ[ουα]ν: The identification of the governor rests on what is preserved of his patronym and the reference to indiction 7 (line 4), which falls within his term of office. Palaeographically it is less likely that these are the remnants of the patronym of Ḥandhala b. Ṣafwān, who had two terms of office as governor of Egypt, both of which included a 7th indiction, viz. 721–4 and 737–42 (ind. 7 = 1.5.723/738–30.4.724/739), see F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Aegypten zur Zeit der Chalifen I* (1875) 43, 46.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān was a son of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the fourth Umayyad caliph (684–5); the latter was succeeded as caliph by his eldest son, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (685–705). ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān's long career saw important changes in the administration of Egypt; for a concise account see H. Kennedy, "Egypt as a Province in the Islamic Caliphate, 641–868," in C.F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt I. Islamic Egypt, 640–1517* (1998) 70–1 (I have not seen U. Rizzitano, *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān. Governatore Umayyade d'Egitto 65/85 Eg. - 685/704 d. Chr.* [1947]). Apart from the *entagia* mentioned in the introduction, another text "authored" by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān is *APRL* 59, a circular letter addressed to pagarchs in 65/684–5, see W. Diem, "Der Gouverneur an den Pagarchen. Ein verkannter Papyrus vom Jahre 65 der Hidschra," *Der Islam* 60 (1983) 104–11.

ὕμιν τοῖς ἀπὸ [: The formulation indicates that the *entagion* was addressed to a fiscal district, not to an individual tax-payer; similar expressions are common among the *entagia* of Qurra b. Šarīk, cf. e.g. *P.Lond.* IV 1407.1, 1408.1, 1410.1, 1411.1, *W.Chr.* 256.7–8, etc. This district may have been a city: the traces of the last surviving letter in the line would admit π (but not χ, i.e. χ[ωρίου, ε, i.e. ἐ[ποικίου, or μ, i.e. μ[ονακτηρίου]. We may thus consider restoring ὕμιν τοῖς ἀπὸ π[όλεως; another possibility is π[αγαρχίας, see next note.

3 (A small piece of papyrus pasted to the beginning of the line does not seem to belong here.)

τῇ ὑμε(τέρῳ) παγαρχ(ίᾳ): *P.Apoll.* 20.1: ἔλαχεν τῇ παγαρχία τῇ περιβλέ(πτου) σου φιλίας (from a letter addressed to Papas, pagarch of Apollonos Anô), might suggest restoring ἔλαχε(ν)] τῇ ὑμε(τέρῳ) παγαρχ(ίᾳ). (For the collocation ὑμε(τέρῳ) παγαρχ(ίᾳ), cf. the expression ε[ίς τ]ὴν παγαρχ(ίαν) ὑμῶν, which occurs in *P.Apoll.* 9.4; 13.5; 29.4.)

δ(ιὰ) ἐπιτάλμ(α)τ(οc): The precise significance of the term here is not clear.

4] (καὶ) διαφό(ρων) προσ(ώ)π(ων) μ(ηνῶν) 5 ἐπὶ τ(ῆς) παρού-(cης) | ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) 6: Compare *P.Lond.* IV 1375.5–9: ἐ[τά]ξ[αμ]ε[ν δ]ι[ὰ] τῆς διοικήσεως σου ὑπὲρ τιμῆς τῶν ὑποτετ[αγμένων] | εἰδῶν δαπάνης ἡμετέρας καὶ τῶν συνόντων ἡμῶν ὑπουργῶν | Ἀράβων τε καὶ Χριστιανῶν καὶ διαφόρων προσώπων | μηνῶν δώδεκα τῆς παρούσης ἰνδικτίωνος ἐνάτης καὶ τὰ τούτων | ἐντάγια ποιήσαντες τοῖς τῶν χωρίων ἐπέμψαμέν σοι (similarly 1358.1–5).

ὥς ὑποτ[έτακται? Cf. *P.Lond.* 1375.5–6 ὑποτετ[αγμένων] | εἰδῶν. If this holds, the details of the requisitioned items and their prices will have followed in the part now lost.

II. Un *entagion* di 'Awf b. Nāfi' (?)

P.CtYBR inv. 1309⁷

12.4 cm x 7 cm

VII ex. (VIII in. ?)

Plate 3⁸

Arsinoite

F. Morelli, "*Agri deserti (mawât)*, fuggitivi, fisco: una κλήρωσις in più in SPP VIII 1183," *ZPE* 129 (2000) 167–78, discute dei metodi seguiti dalla amministrazione araba per rimettere a coltura le terre abbandonate dai fuggitivi, e raccoglie i pochissimi esempi di ἐντάγια con i quali si ordinava ai contribuenti di assumersi l'onere

⁷ Acquisistato da M. Rostovtzeff il 13 settembre 1931 a Parigi da Maurice Nahman.

⁸ <http://130.132.81.124/papyrimg/Z4410469.JPG>

della coltivazione e—quel che probabilmente interessava di più—del pagamento delle imposte per un appezzamento rimasto senza padrone: *SPP* VIII 1183, *CPR* VIII 76, 77, 78.

L'aspetto fiscale, e in particolare il fatto che la esazione delle imposte fosse il fine principale di questo tipo di documenti, risulta dalla—o se si preferisce si riflette nella—struttura stessa di questi ordini. Essi seguono gli stessi schemi e gli stessi formulari degli ἐντάγια più comuni: quelli con i quali erano comunicate al contribuente le quote fiscali da pagare.

In questo particolare genere di ἐντάγια per l'assegnazione di terreni abbandonati viene comunicato l'onere di coltivare un pezzo di terra, ma non è fatta parola della quota fiscale da pagare. Si deve pensare allora che a questi ordini ne seguissero degli altri (forse indirizzati ufficialmente all'intestatario del terreno?) con la indicazione delle tasse da pagare.

La interpretazione fiscale, e in particolare la appartenenza di questi ordini per la coltivazione di appezzamenti di terreno alla stessa classe documentaria degli ordini per la imposizione fiscale, pare adesso confermata da un nuovo esempio di questo genere di ἐντάγια, P.CtYBR inv. 1309. Con questo ἐντάγιον si ordina a una persona—se ho letto bene un καγγάριος, un calzolaio—di Ναρμοῦθις di seminare della terra nella evidentemente vicina località di Ἀφανίου. La superficie di terra assegnata è identica a quella di *CPR* VIII 76.⁹ Per le superfici assegnate negli altri documenti dello stesso genere, cfr. Morelli, *art.cit.* 171.

Del testo, sul *recto* contro le fibre, sono conservate—con alcune lacune—le prime quattro linee. In una linea 5 perduta doveva essere indicata la data dell'ordine, e in una linea 6 doveva trovarsi

⁹ Quello che gli editori a l. 5 leggono come μ(όνη?), riferito alla ἄρου(ρα) α di l. 4, è in realtà la abbreviazione per μ(ηνός), riferito al Φ(α)ῶ(φι) che subito segue sulla stessa linea. Le due abbreviazioni non sono da confondere: μ con il tratto discendente tagliato da uno o due tratti obliqui, in alcuni casi con un o soprascritto, per μ(όνov); μ con un tratto obliquo soprascritto, per μ(ηνός). Il papiro viene senz'altro dall'Eracleopolite, cfr. le osservazioni a proposito delle località in esso menzionate in Morelli, *art.cit.* 171, *CPR* XXII 3.5 n.

il riepilogo finale, γί(νεται) ἄρου(ρα) α. Quest'ultima linea doveva essere separata dal resto da un *vacat* di qualche centimetro, per poter essere ripiegata e sigillata a parte, come normale negli ἐντάγια. Il *verso* è bianco.

σὺν θ(εῷ) Αὐφα υἱὸς(ς) Νά]φε ὑμῖν Σευήρω ρανγ(αρίω?)
Γεωργίου

ἀπὸ χ[ω(ρίου)] Ναρμούθ(εως). ἐλαχε[ν] ὑμῖν σπεῖραι ἀπὸ
κατασπορ(ᾶς)

χωρίου Ἀφανίου καρπ(ῶν) δεκ(ά)τ(ης) ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἐν τόπῳ
Τζει

4 ἄρ]ου(ραν) α, ἄρουραν μίαν μό(νην).

— — — — —

Con dio, 'Awf b. Nāfi' a voi, Seueros calzolaio (?) figlio di Georgios della località di Narmouthis. Vi è stato assegnato di seminare dalla semina della località di Aphaniou per i frutti della decima indizione nel podere di Tzei *aroura* 1, *aroura* una, e nient'altro.

1 Del nome del personaggio—verosimilmente un pagarco—che ha emesso il documento rimangono solo le due ultime lettere del patronimico:]φε. Deve trattarsi di un nome arabo: musulmani sono di solito i pagarchi nel periodo arabo inoltrato. Dei pagarchi dell'Arsinoite noti per il periodo arabo l'unico il cui nome si adatta perfettamente alle lettere superstiti e alla ampiezza della lacuna è 'Awf b. Nāfi', Αὐφα υἱὸς Νάφε, già attestato da *CPR* XXII 11 e 12 come pagarco dell'Arsinoite, probabilmente verso la fine del VII secolo. *CPR* XXII 11 e 12 sono scritti in una indizione 8 per le imposte di una indizione 7; questa indizione 8 corrisponde forse al 680/681 o al 695/696, cfr. *CPR* XXII 11 introd. In questo caso, se la indizione 10 di P.CtYBR inv. 1309 corrisponde alla indizione di datazione, il documento potrebbe essere collocato nel 682/683 o nel 697/698.

σανγ(αρίω?): il termine σανγάριος è solo in Esichio, Σ 1196, dove è usato per glossare κυτεύς: κυτεύς· σανγάριος, καὶ καλιγάριος. Più frequenti in testi bizantini le forme τζαγγάριος, τζαγκάρης, etc., forme attestate anche nei papiri, cfr. P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 68 (1988) 84. Per le calzature denominate τζάγγαι—con particolare riferimento però alle calzature dell'imperatore bizantino—e per i termini connessi come τζαγγάριος etc., cfr. la ampia discussione in Ch. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* II (Lyon 1688) 1555-8; cfr. anche Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Niort 1883-1887) s.v. *Tzangae*, vol. VIII, pp. 221-2, e J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden 1984) s.v. *zancha*, p. 1138. Non ci sono invece nomi propri attestati in età così tarda ai quali potrebbe essere ricondotta una abbreviazione σανγ() o σαν()γ(). Né aiuta leggere la prima lettera come π invece che c —lettura che fa difficoltà ma che non può essere esclusa—: unico nome proprio che inizia in questo modo attestato nel periodo bizantino è Παγγηλ, solo in *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2195.177, 188. Se la lettura σανγάριος è giusta, e il Seueros al quale è diretto l'ordine era davvero un calzolaio, egli esercitava già una propria attività, diversa dall'agricoltura. Ciò confermerebbe che—come già proposto in Morelli, *art.cit.*, 178—l'impegno richiesto di coltivare queste terre doveva essere, almeno in molti casi, una formalità. La sostanza che interessava alla amministrazione doveva essere piuttosto l'impegno del contribuente per il pagamento delle tasse, e la copertura dell'ammancio fiscale che altrimenti si sarebbe verificato.

2 Ναμπούθ(εωc): Madīnat Mādī, ca. 23 km a SW di Madīnat al-Fayyūm: cfr. A. Calderini - S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* III (Milano 1983) 318-9; suppl. I, p. 202; II, p. 129, S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1984-1992) s.v. Narmūda, vol. IV, pp. 1734-8.

ἐλαχε[ν] ὑμῖν πειῖραι: la formula corrisponde allo ἐλαχεν ὑμῖν δοῦναι, tipica degli ἐντάγια per la imposizione fiscale dell'Arsinoite: cfr. *CPR* XXII 11.2 n. Il verbo πειῖραι manca invece in *SPP* VIII 1183—testo secondo la riedizione di Morelli, *art.cit.*—del l' Eracleo-

polite, allo stesso modo in cui δοῦναι manca dagli ἐντάγια della stessa provenienza. Questi ordini per la coltivazione di terre, seguendo le particolarità locali del formulario degli ἐντάγια, confermano la loro appartenenza a questa classe documentaria, e in questo modo, la loro natura fiscale.

ἀπό κατασπορ(ᾶς): meno probabile κατασπαρ(έντων). Κατασπορά nella documentazione fiscale del periodo arabo già in *P.Lond.* IV 1349.13, 1367.17.

3 Ἀφανίου: la località, attestata a partire dal periodo bizantino, era collocata da K. Wessely, *Topographie des Faijûm (Arsinoïtes nomus) in griechischer Zeit* (Wien 1904) 44, nel SE del I' Arsinoite; da Grenfell e Hunt, *P.Tebt.* II, p. 371, nel SW. P.CtYBR inv. 1309 presuppone che una persona di Ναρμοῦθις, Madīnat Mādī, potesse coltivare della terra a Ἀφανίου, e mostra che le due località dovevano essere vicine. Viene confermata così la collocazione proposta da Grenfell e Hunt, nel SW dell'Arsinoite. Per questa località cfr. anche Calderini - Daris, *Dizionario* I.2, s.v., p. 281; suppl. I, p. 70; II, p. 30 s.; Timm, *op.cit.* I, p. 137.

Τξει: sulla parola si vede un tratto obliquo, frequente con i toponimi egiziani. La lettura è sicura, ma la località non è mai attestata.

NIKOLAOS GONIS

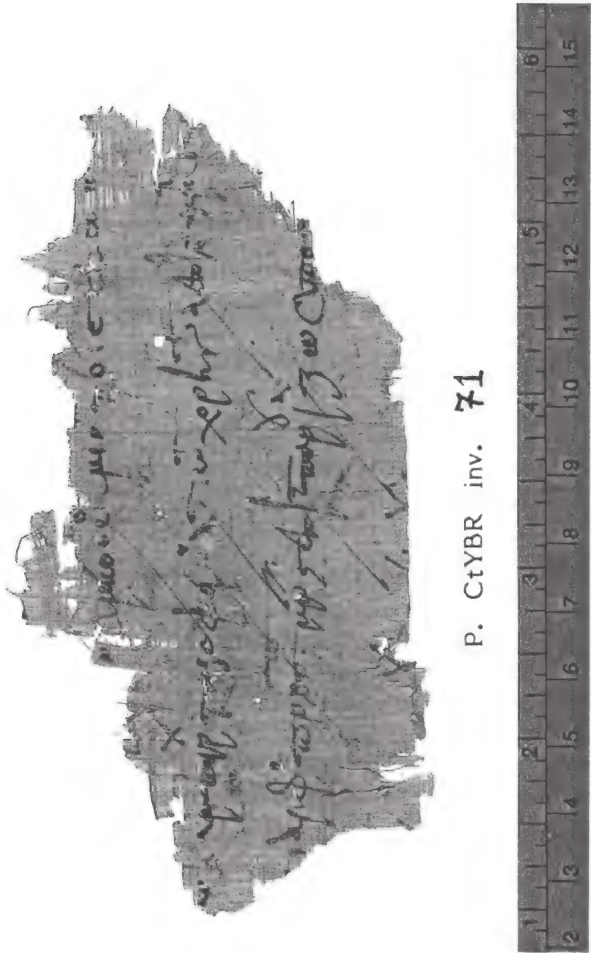
Oxford

FEDERICO MORELLI

Vienna

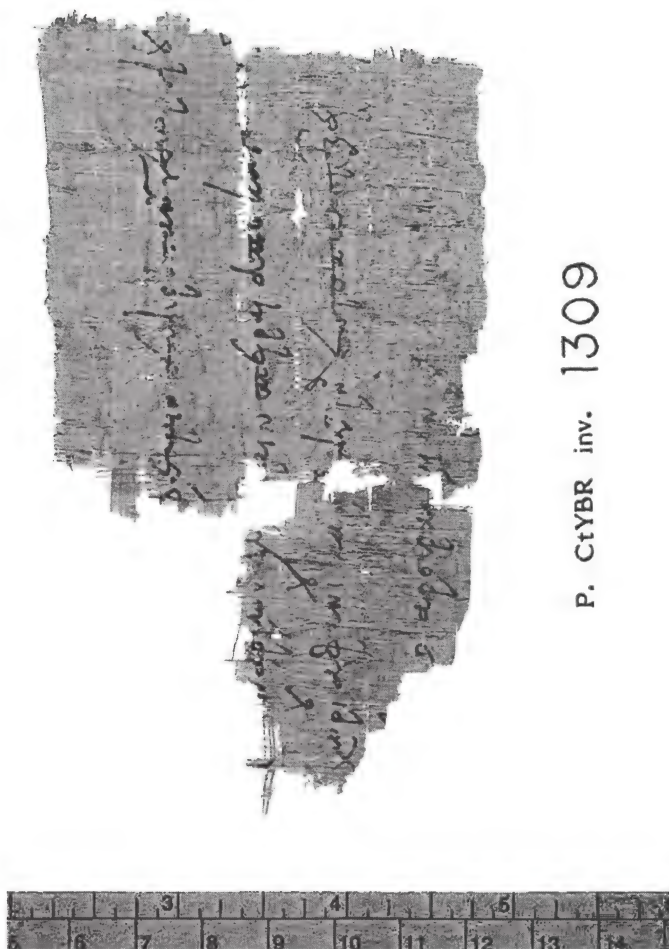
Plate 2

(to Gonis & Morelli, "Two *Entagia* ... ")



P.CtYBR inv. 71

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P.CtYBR inv. 1309

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*Dedicated in gratitude to Professor Emeritus Dr. Raymond Bogaert,
my former tutor in papyrology.*

Zygostatai in Egypt from 363 A.D. Onwards. A Papyrological Prosopography*

1. Ever since metal coinage came into use in Antiquity, people have tried to tamper with it, especially when gold coins were concerned, by parring or clipping them down and even by counterfeiting them.¹ Nevertheless, the imperial government in the Roman Empire managed to maintain a stable gold coinage: the *solidus* (νόμισμα) was never altered or reduced in weight until the Middle Ages; in all transactions coins were normally weighed and, if clipped or worn, rated at less x carats (κεράτια).² This control measure became official when, on April 23, 363, the emperor Julian authorized the appointment of a (public) weigher, (δημόσιος) ζυγοστάτης, in each city of his realm. The text of this law, preserved in the *Codex Theod.* XII.7.2, reads as follows:

*Emptio venditioque solidorum, si qui eos excidunt aut deminuunt aut, ut proprio verbo utar cupididatis, adrodunt, tamquam leves eos vel debiles nonnullis repudiantibus inpeditur. Ideoque placet quem sermo Graecus appellat per singulas civitates constitui zygostaten, qui pro sua fide atque industria neque fallat neque fallatur, ut ad eius arbitrium atque ad eius fidem, si qua inter vendentem emptoremque in solidis exorta fuerit contentio, dirimatur.*³

* All dates are A.D., unless otherwise stated.

¹ M.F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450* (Cambridge, Mass. 1985) 316-7.

² A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602. A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey* III (Oxford 1964) 444.

³ This text is preserved also, be it much altered, in *Cod. Justin.* X.73.2: *Quotiens de qualitate solidorum orta fuerit dubitatio, placet quem sermo Graecus appellat per singulas civitates constitutum zygostaten, qui pro sua fide atque industria neque fallat neque fallatur, contentionem dirimere.*

The buying and selling of *solidi* is impeded if anyone clips down or diminishes or—to use the word proper to such avarice—nibbles them away, for some persons refuse them as light or inadequate. It therefore pleases us to appoint a *zugostatês*, as the Greek word terms him, in each city, who on account of his faithfulness and industry will neither deceive nor be deceived, so that if a dispute may arise between a seller and buyer of *solidi*, it may be settled according to his judgement and reliability.

The wording in Julian's constitution implies that the term *ζυγοστάτης* already existed in the Greek language. Indeed, the earliest attestation can be found in Kerkidas of Megalopolis (III B.C.), who calls Zeus an *ὀρθός ... ζυγοστάτας* ("a righteous judge"), while the use of the term with the meaning "public weigher" seems to have been widespread from the second century A.D. onward.⁴ Consequently, Julian's decision concerned the installation of a *new* category of *ζυγοστάται*: official inspectors of gold coinage, having full power of decision, whose main task was initially to verify the exact weight of individual coins in circulation, to settle, as mediators, the disputes between the private persons, which had arisen over payments in clipped or otherwise defective coins, cf. *P.Herm.* 80 (553), *P.Oxy.* XVI 2032 (540/1), *PSI* IV 290 (V-VI); and to act as a paymaster, cf. *P.Lond.* IV 1412 (685-698/9), *P.Lond.* IV 1508 and 1509 (both Coptic; VIII), *P.Lond.* V 1741 (642). These officials received, controlled and transmitted the *solidi*, and supported themselves probably by fees they charged for weighing (*ροπή*)—1/2 carat per *solidus* in Oxyrhynchus—, although no source actually attests the weigher collecting this charge himself.⁵ However, as is shown in the table below by texts of later date, they were gradually acting as cashiers or treasurers of great landowners too.

2. The papyrological sources give us a fairly clear picture concerning the activities of the *ζυγοστάτης*, though often in an individual document only one single transaction is mentioned, either a payment to him, cf. *P.Alex.* 40 (VI), *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67058 (VI), *P.Oxy.* XVI 2032 (540/1), *Stud.Pal.* III 178 and 179 (both VI) or a

⁴ Fragment 1.22, ed. E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* III (Leipzig 1954³) 143; R. Bogaert, "L'essai des monnaies dans l'Antiquité," *RBNS* 122 (1976) 29.

⁵ See R. Bogaert, *ibid.* 30-2; A.C. Johnson - L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Amsterdam 1967 repr.) 308; and R. Rémondon, *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônios Anô* (Cairo 1953) 177. N. Gonis, "A Symmachos on Mission and his Paymaster: *P.Herm.* 80 Enlarged," *ZPE* 132 (2000) 182, n. 1.

deposit by him, cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 2028 (VI), *P.Sorb.* I 62 (first half of VI?), *Stud.Pal.* VIII 977 (VI). Some times he bore the title δημόσιος, cf. *BGU* III 837 (609), *P.Oxy.* XVI 1886 (late V or early VI). More often he, even, enjoyed the honorary title θαυμασιώτατος, cf. *BGU* III 837 (609), *P.Herm.* 80 (553), *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2780 (553), *SB* XII 10810 (second half of VI), *Stud.Pal.* VIII 1109 (VI-VII). Other titles used to describe him are εὐδόκιμος (-ώτατος ?), cf. *P.Michael.* 35 (VI or VII), and αἰδέσιμος, cf. *PSI* III 246 (526). He recorded his activities in account books (πιττάκια); payments διὰ πιττακίου are well attested, cf. *Stud.Pal.* III 592 (647 or 662), 694 (VII), VIII 820 (652/3), 835 (VI), 846 (645 or 660), 1192b (650/1). He could, if necessary, be assisted by a clerk (μίσθιος), cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1886.9 (late V or early VI). *SB* VI 9285 (second half of VI) reveals that sometimes the ζυγοστάται could be overzealous or even act against the law.⁶ The place in which they were appointed is only seldom given in the papyri: *BGU* XII 2186 (514? – ἀπὸ Ἑρμοῦπόλεως), *P.Oxy.* XVI 2028 (VI – τῆς Κυνῶν (πόλεως)), *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397 (545 – ταύτης τῆς (λαμπρᾶς) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν (πόλεως)), *P.Sorb.* II 69 (between 618/9 and 633/4 – Ἀντινόου (πόλις)). On the other hand some localities seem to have had different ζυγοστάται simultaneously, cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67058 (VI), *P.Lond.* II 387 (VI or VII?), *P.Lond.* IV 1412 (685-698/9), *PSI* IV 290 (V-VI), *Stud.Pal.* III 694 (VII). Finally, the strong ties between ζυγοστάται and bankers/money-changers resulted in the fact that both professions were sometimes exercised by the same person (e.g. *P.Michael.* 35 (VI or VII), *P.Oxy.* XVI 1926 (VI)), which could increase his revenues substantially.⁷

3. Although the intention of Julian's law was honorable, its result proved to be much less fortunate, for during the fifth and sixth centuries, at least, the ζυγοστάται unlawfully extended their compe-

⁶ In this letter of a landowner (a pagarch?) in the city to his officials on the estates we are told that the weighers refused most of the money paid, and that they did not deposit the sums in the central bureau at Alexandria, as was again the custom, but in the metropolis.

⁷ The addressee of *P.Michael.* 35 is one Βίκτωρ κολλεκτάριος καὶ ζυγοστάτης. The text concerns a loan of 1 νομισμάτιον, valued at 22 1/2 carats. In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1926 a Christian prays that he may not speak about the bank or about the weighing-office (μηδὲ περὶ τραπεζιτίας μηδὲ περὶ ζυγοσταθείας). See R. Bogaert, "Changeurs et banquiers chez les Pères de l'Eglise," *AncSoc* 4 (1973) 251.

tence. When taxes in kind were converted into payments in gold, an extra charge, the ὄβρυζα, was allowed to be collected, cf. *P.Lips.* 62.22: μετὰ τῆς ὀμβρύζης (384 and 385). However, the ζυγοστάται, together with the χρυσῶνες (buyers of gold), abused this levy in such a major way, that they became, as M.F. Hendy put it, "a by-word for corruption."⁸ While in Antaiopolis the tax amounted to 1 carat per *solidus* in 566-7, cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67057, it had already risen to 1 1/2 at Oxyrhynchos in 580, cf. *P.Oxy.* I 144. For the so-called ἀπόλυτον χάραγμα (loose, unsealed gold coin)⁹ in Alexandria it finally reached 3 carats or 12 1/2 % in 559.¹⁰ Such exaction was obviously injurious both to trade and to the public treasury. When, moreover, ζυγοστάται proved to have developed the most lucrative habit of mentioning a higher amount on the containers they had weighed and sealed, than the amount that was actually in, cf. e.g. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1886 (late V or early VI),¹¹ the emperor Justinian intervened. In his Edict XI, dating from January 559, he stipulates:

᾽Ωστε μηδεμίαν ἄδειαν ἔχειν τοὺς παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ζυγοστάτας τε καὶ χρυσῶνας τοῦ λοιποῦ ὑπὲρ ὀβρύζης τι ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης πόλεως τὸ χαρακτηριστικὸν ἐκεῖσε χρυσίον γίνεσθαι, τὰς δὲ σφραγίδας ἐντιθέναι αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸν σφωζόμενον ἐν τῷ χάραγματι σταθμόν.

So that in future, the ζυγοστάται and χρυσῶνες of Egypt shall have no license to demand anything under the name of ὄβρυζα, but that coined gold in these regions shall correspond to that of this Great City (i.e. Constantinople), they shall place their seals on it according to the undiminished weight in the coined money.

In the *prefatio* Justinian set forth his determination to suppress the ὄβρυζα.¹² In Chapter II he named the ζυγοστάται and χρυσῶνες as

⁸ *Op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 317.

⁹ M.F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261* (Dumbarton Oaks 1969) 304.

¹⁰ L.C. West - A.C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Amsterdam 1967 repr.) 189.

¹¹ One Aurelios Joseph had taken a certain sum of money in gold to the ζυγοστάτης Anastasios. Having handed over his money, he received the weigher's seal, but when the seal was broken, the sum was found to be short by 52 carats; he now asks for the detention of Anastasios' heir until the deficiency is made up.

¹² Τὴν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις λεγομένην ὄβρυζαν τοῖς ἀνωθεν μὲν χρόνοις οὐκ ἐγνωσμένην, ὀλίγῳ δὲ πρόσω ἐναρξαμένην τοῖς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου συναλλάγμασιν

the chief source of trouble,¹³ and ruled that they had to be placed under supervision by the officials under whose disposition they operated, and *were under penalty of death and confiscation of property*.¹⁴

The chart below lists alphabetically all the ζυγοστάται who have survived in the papyri published thus far. I hope that this prosopography will enable future scholars to investigate in a more thorough manner both the nature and the evolution of an office that was once created by imperial decree and for a clear purpose, but very soon surpassed its legal limits within which it was originally set up.

ἐνοχλεῖν καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀτοπίας ἐκβᾶσαν, ὥς ἑννέα χρυσοῦς ἐφ' ἑκάστη παρέχεσθαι λίτρα, πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνατεῖλαι καὶ παῦσαι δεῖν ἡγησάμεθα.

¹³ Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κεφάλαιον τοῦ κακουργήματος οἱ τε ζυγοστάται καὶ οἱ χρυσῶνες τυγχάνουσιν.

¹⁴ See G. Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris 1928²) 102. Text: δημοσίας αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας ποιούμεν καὶ ταῖς εἰς σῶμα ποιναῖς ὑποτίθεμεν.

#	Name	Publication	Contents	Origin	Date
01	Ἀβραάμιος	<i>P.Sorb.</i> II 69	Fiscal code, probably concerning tax payable in corn	Hermopolis Magna	Between 618/9 and 633/4
02	Ἀθανάσιος	<i>P.Rain. Cent.</i> 135	Delivery order (of meat?) from one Ioannes to the <i>paralempetes</i> Kyros	Hermopolis (?)	V-VII
03	Ἀμμόνιος ? (or his son) ¹⁵	<i>P.Sorb.</i> II 69 (see 01)			
04	Ἀναστάσιος	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1886	Petition from Aurelios Joseph to the <i>ekdikos</i> Flavios Apion (= Apion II?) to defend him, as the <i>zygostates</i> had not paid back all his debts to him	Oxyrhynchos	Late V/ Early VI
05	Ἀσιμμωνιάδης	<i>P.Laur.</i> IV 185	Registration of <i>sekomata</i> of wine	Oxyrhynchos	VII
06	Ἀρφούς	<i>SB</i> XII 10810	Loan of money. Aurelios Pkulis, <i>boethos</i> of the village Pois, acknowledges receipt of 7 <i>solidi</i> at 12 1/2 % interest from the <i>zygost.</i>	?	Second half of VI
07	Ἀϋρήλιος Διοσκούριδης	<i>BGU</i> XII 2186	Lease of a corn field between Aur. Pebes (son of Sois) from the village of Achilleos and the owner, Aur. Kyra (daughter of Abraamios) from Hermopolis	Achilleos (Herm. nome)	Summer 514?
08	Ἀρφούς ¹⁶	<i>P.Sorb.</i> II 69 (see 01)			
09	Βασιλειος	<i>P.Apoll.</i> 83	Account of money received and spent, e.g. deposit by the <i>zygost.</i> of 19 2/3 <i>solidi</i> to the office of the pagarchy	Apollonopolis Magna	712-3
10	Βενιαμίν	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67359	Account regarding the tax assessments of Antinoopolis	Antinoopolis	Arab period

¹⁵ So J. Gascou, *Un codex fiscal hermapolite (P.Sorb. II 69)* (Atlanta 1994) 258.

¹⁶ Possibly identical with Apphous in 06; so *BL* X, 205.

11	Βύκτωρ	<i>P.Michael.</i> 35	David, son of Pamouthios, acknowledges receipt of 1 <i>nomismation</i> , valued at 22 1/2 carats as a loan from the <i>zygost</i> , to repaid by 20 art. of corn	Oxyrhynchos	VII/VII
12	Βύκτωρ ex-zygost.	<i>P.Sorb.</i> II 69 (see 01)			
13	Γερώντιος	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> III 178	Receipt ?	Arsin. or Herakl. nome	VI
14	Διονύσιος	<i>CPR</i> VIII 40	Payment order from Nearchides to the poultry merchant Bekis to give Dionysios 20,000 tal. of silver for the weighing of <i>solidi</i>	Herm. nome	IV
15	Δωμόνιος ¹⁷	<i>P.Lond.</i> IV 1412	Account	Aphrodito	685-698/9
16	Ἐπιμόδορος	<i>P.Lips.</i> 62	Receipts drawn up by the <i>chrysonai</i> Claudius Apis and Claudius Chouis for Aurelios Philammon, <i>hypodektes</i> of Hermopolis, concerning the <i>aurum tironicum</i> and other taxes	Hermopolis – Antinoopolis	384 and 385
17	Ἡλείας	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 387	List of names with occupations	Arsinoite?	VI or VII?
18a	Ἡλίας ¹⁸	<i>P.Prag.</i> II 152	Receipt for the <i>naulon emboles</i>	Ampeliou village, Arsinoite	Feb. 16, 653(?)
18b	Ἡλίας	<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 144	Receipt for payment drawn up by the dyer Gerontis, son of Amaios	Arsinoite	Feb. 19, 648 or Feb. 18, 663

¹⁷ Δωμόνιος = Δόμωνος; *P.Lond.* IV, p. 91 n. 127.

¹⁸ 18a up to 18g (included) all concern the same *zygostates*; cf. *P.Prag.* II, p. 84 n. 2.

18c	Ἡλίας	<i>Stud. Pal.</i> III 592	Receipt for Pousis, son of Sittas	Arsinoite	Feb. 19, 647 or 662
18d	Ἡλίας	<i>Stud. Pal.</i> III 694	Receipt for Menas, baker of fine bread (<i>katharourgos</i>) or cleaner (<i>kathartes</i>)	Arsinoite	VII
18e	Ἡλίας	<i>Stud. Pal.</i> VIII 820	Receipt for Neilammon Mouleu	Arsinoite	652/3
18f	Ἡλίας	<i>Stud. Pal.</i> VIII 846	Receipt for the people of Magais	Arsinoite	Nov. 4, 645 or Nov. 5, 660
18g	Ἡλίας	<i>Stud. Pal.</i> XX 231	Account of the <i>zygost.</i> ; list of <i>pittakia</i>	Arsinoite	Middle VII
19	Θεοδό(ω)τιος	<i>P.Lond.</i> IV 1508 (Coptic)	Declaration from Athanasios, son of Isaac, <i>lashane</i> of the <i>epoikion</i> of Nisekate (i.e. Keramion), relating to a payment previously made by him for a monthly money contribution. The pagarch had received the money and handed it to Theodosios, resident of Hypsele	Aphrodito	VIII
20	Θεοδό(ω)τιος ¹⁹	<i>P.Lond.</i> IV 1509 (Coptic)	Declaration similar to 19, drawn up by Kollouthos, a village <i>lashane</i> , to the <i>zygost.</i> , resident of Hypsele	Aphrodito	VIII
21	Θεόδωρος	<i>P.Lond.</i> IV 1412 (see 15)			
22	Θωμάς	<i>P.Lond.</i> IV 1412 (see 15)			
23	Ι[.....]	<i>Stud. Pal.</i> VIII 977	Payment order from Ioannes <i>com(es?)</i> to the <i>zygost.</i>	?	VI
24	Ἰουλιανός	<i>P.Lond.</i> I 113.7 (= verso of I 113.11)	Account of wine received and given away	Arsinoite	VII

¹⁹ Possibly to be identified with Theodosios in 19.

25	Ἰσάκιος	<i>P.Lond. V</i> 1741	Receipt (of taxes?) paid through (by?) a <i>zygost</i> .	?	642
26	Ἰσάννης	<i>P.Bal. II</i> 287	List of orders for payment of taxes, mentioning a <i>zygost</i> . from Hypsele	Deir el-Bala'i-zah	Feb./Mar. 725
27	Ἰσάννης	<i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10714 ²⁰	Payment order from the <i>mesitai horrion megalon</i> to the <i>mesitai horrion politon</i> to pay corn to the <i>zygost</i> .	Arsinoite	VI-VII
28	Ἰσάννης	<i>P.Herm.</i> 80 ²¹	Receipt for payment issued by a <i>zygost</i> . to a <i>symmachos</i>	Oxyrhynchos	Nov. 27 - Dec. 26, 553
29	Ἰσάννης	<i>P.Lond. II</i> 393	Receipt for the sum of 16 1/4 carats paid by the <i>zygost</i> . to one Kallinikos	?	VI or VII
30	Ἰσάννης ²²	<i>P.Oxy. XXXVI</i> 2780	Receipt for the salary of Aurelios Timotheos, water-supplier of the public bath, addressed to Flavia Gabrielia on behalf of the estate of Timagenes	Oxyrhynchos	July 16, 553
31	Ἰσάννης	<i>SB XVIII</i> 13900	Payment order from Apphous to the <i>zygost</i> . for clothes for Matrona	Arsinoite or Herakleopolite	VI-VII
32	Ἰσάννης	<i>Stud.Pal. III</i> 179	Receipt for 3 <i>solidi</i> , paid by the <i>zygost</i> .	Arsinoite or Herakleopolite	VI
33	Ἰσάηφ	<i>P.Oxy. XVI</i> 2032	Account of payments	Oxyrhynchos	540/1
34	Ἰσάηφ	<i>P.Oxy. XIX</i> 2243(a)	Receipts for expenditure on estates	Oxyrhynchos	Fall 590
35	Ἰσάηφ	<i>Stud.Pal. III</i> 179 (see 32)			
36	Ἰσάηφ	<i>Stud.Pal. III</i> 186	Receipt	Arsinoite or Herakleopolite	VI-VII

²⁰ Published by P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Vier byzantinischen Texte des Kairener Museum," *Aegyptus* 68 (1988) 37-8, no. 1.

²¹ For a recent republication of this text, see above n. 5.

²² Probably identical with Ioannes in 28.

25	Ἰσάκιος	<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1741	Receipt (of taxes?) paid through (by?) a <i>zygost</i> .	?	642
26	Ἰωάννης	<i>P.Bal.</i> II 287	List of orders for payment of taxes, mentioning a <i>zygost</i> . from Hypsele	Deir el-Bala'izah	Feb./Mar. 725
27	Ἰωάννης	<i>P.Cair.</i> Cat. 10714 ²⁰	Payment order from the <i>mesitai horrion megalon</i> to the <i>mesitai horrion politon</i> to pay corn to the <i>zygost</i> .	Arsinoite	VI-VII
28	Ἰωάννης	<i>P.Herm.</i> 80 ²¹	Receipt for payment issued by a <i>zygost</i> . to a <i>symmachos</i>	Oxyrhynchos	Nov. 27 - Dec. 26, 553
29	Ἰωάννης	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 393	Receipt for the sum of 16 1/4 carats paid by the <i>zygost</i> . to one Kallinikos	?	VI or VII
30	Ἰωάννης ²²	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXVI 2780	Receipt for the salary of Aurelios Timotheos, water-supplier of the public bath, addressed to Flavia Gabriela on behalf of the estate of Timagenes	Oxyrhynchos	July 16, 553
31	Ἰωάννης	<i>SB</i> XVIII 13900	Payment order from Apphous to the <i>zygost</i> . for clothes for Matrona	Arsinoite or Herakleopolite	VI-VII
32	Ἰωάννης	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> III 179	Receipt for 3 <i>solidi</i> , paid by the <i>zygost</i> .	Arsinoite or Herakleopolite	VI
33	Ἰωσήφ	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 2032	Account of payments	Oxyrhynchos	540/1
34	Ἰωσήφ	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIX 2243(a)	Receipts for expenditure on estates	Oxyrhynchos	Fall 590
35	Ἰωσήφ	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> III 179 (see 32)			
36	Ἰωσήφ	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> III 186	Receipt	Arsinoite or Herakleopolite	VI-VII

²⁰ Published by P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Vier byzantinischen Texte des Kairener Museum," *Aegyptus* 68 (1988) 37-8, no. 1.

²¹ For a recent republication of this text, see above n. 5.

²² Probably identical with Ioannes in 28.

47b	Παρνούθιος ²⁴	PSI IV 291 (same hand as 47a)	Payment order for small couches addressed to Anna, daughter of the <i>zygost</i> . Papnouthios	Oxyrhynchos	V-VI
48	Παῦλος	<i>P.Lond.</i> I 113.8(a)	Account. List of sums due and received	?	VII
49	Περύσιος	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67058	Account from the finance office in Aphrodito	Aphrodito	VI
50	Πέτρος	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4395	Antichretic loan. Flavius Ioulianos, resident near the Martyrium of St. John the Baptist in Alex. borrowed 10 <i>solidi</i> less 10 carats from Aurelios Agathokles in exchange for two distributions of bread	Oxyrhynchos or possibly Alexandria	ca. 499-500
51	Πέτρος	<i>P.Sorb.</i> I 62	Letter in which Anoubion, ordering two kinds of oil, offers Martyria, of whom he is the <i>domesticus</i> , the opportunity to deduct the sum of 6 <i>solidi</i> from the total paid to him by the <i>zygost</i> .	?	First half of VI (?)
52	Πέτρος ? (or his son Phoibammon) ²⁵	<i>P.Sorb.</i> II 69 (see 01 and 66)			
53	Πέτρος	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> X 74	Account	Arsinoite	VII-VIII
54	Πινουρίων	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67058 (see 49)			
55	Πομπανός	<i>P.Cair.Cat.</i> 10432 ²⁶	Survey of payments made by Melas for the village of Andromachis and collected by Elias and the <i>zygost</i> . through their assistant Hermias	Andromachis	IV

²⁴ Identical with Papnouthios in 47a.

²⁵ Cf. J. Gascou, *op.cit.* (above, n. 15) 274.

²⁶ Published by P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp, "Six Papyri from the Museum of Antiquities at Cairo," *Stud.Pap.* 16 (1977) 19-21, text 6.

56	Ῥωμανός ²⁷	SB XIV 12005	Survey of revenues from taxes of the village Andromachis, drawn up by Melas and ratified by Elias and the <i>zygost</i> .	Andromachis	IV
57	Ἐερῆνος	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LV 3805 (= verso of 3804)	Estate accounts from a central bureau in Oxyrhynchos which administered the Apion estates; possibly a payment for <i>katastatotai</i> (employable forces)	Oxyrhynchos	566 or later
58	Ἐερῆνος	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4397	Settlement of claims. The monastery of Abbas Hierax acknowledges to Flavius Apion (II) receipt of 130 <i>sol.</i> and declares that it has no claim against the estate	Oxyrhynchos	March 17, 545
59	Ἐερῆνος ²⁸	SB XII 11163	Receipt in which the <i>zygost</i> . acknowledges receipt of a sum from the banker Makarios on behalf of the administrator of Pakerke	Oxyrhynchos	601
60	Φιλόξενος	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1897	Promise by the <i>zygost</i> . Philoxenos, son of Paulos, to pay 18 Alex. <i>solidi</i> on behalf of the people of the village of Popano for damage done in the village of Pakerke	Oxyrhynchos	VI or VII
61	Φοιβάμμων	BGU II 695	Order from the <i>zygost</i> . to the <i>mesites horrion politon</i> , Timotheos, to deliver grain to one Theodoros	?	Arab period
62	Φοιβάμμων	<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1742	Receipt for 1 1/2 <i>solidus</i> for <i>demosion</i>	Hermopolite	VII
63	Φοιβάμμων	SB VI 9616	Two letters from an estate manager to his lord	Antinoopolis	August 10, 550-558 (?)
64	Φοιβάμμων (1) ex- <i>zygost</i> . of Antinoopolis	<i>P.Sorb.</i> II 69 (see 01)			

²⁷ Probably the same as Romanos in 55.

²⁸ Possibly to be identified with Serenos in 57 (or 58?).

65	Φοιβάμμων (2) ²⁹	<i>P.Sorb.</i> II 69 (see 01)				
66	Φοιβάμμων (3) ? (or his father Petros) ³⁰	<i>P.Sorb.</i> II 69 (see 01 and 52)				
67	Φοιβάμμων (4) ³¹	<i>P.Sorb.</i> II 69 (see 01)				
68	Φοιβάμμων	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> VIII 1192b	Receipt for the payment of 68 <i>solidi</i> by the deacon Georgios on behalf of the people of the village Alexandrou	Arsinoite	650/1	
69	Ἐρουώγγιλος ex-zygost.	<i>P.Sorb.</i> II 69 (see 01)				
70	μαρὸς	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 387 (see 17)				
71	Anonymous	<i>P.Alex.</i> 40	Private letter. The writer asks Apa Phib to give the money he sent to him, to the zygost. through Apa Sirios	Probably Arsinoite (Philad. ?)	VI	
72	Anonymous	<i>P.Lips.</i> 102	Account of a Dios, helper of the <i>hypo- dektes</i> Konnaros, for an official journey to Alexandria	?	End of IV	
73	Anonymous	<i>P.Lond.</i> IV 1485	Small fragments of a register, contain- ing a number of personal names	Aphrodito	VIII	
74	Anonymous	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1926	Christian oracular prayer to God and St. Philoxenos concerning taking over the business of a zygost. at a bank	?	VI	

²⁹ Possibly to be identified with Phoibammon in **64**; cf. J. Gascou, *op.cit.* (above, n. 15) 215.

³⁰ Cf. Gascou, *ibid.* 274.

³¹ Possibly to be identified with Phoibammon in **64** or **65**.

75	Anonymous	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 2028	List of money payments from various sources, including Kynopolis, for the stables at the village of Takona	Oxyrhynchite ?	VI
76	Anonymous	<i>P.Prag.</i> II 153	Receipt of a <i>diagraphē</i> payment by embroiderers, represented by the presbyter Theodoros	Arsinoite ?	VII
77	Anonymous	<i>SB</i> VI 9285	Letter from a landowner (pagarch ?) in the city to his officials on the estates concerning overzealous and even unlawful behavior by the <i>zygostatai</i>	?	Second half of VI
78	Anonymous	<i>SB</i> XVIII 13779	Receipt	Memnoneia ?	VI
79	Anonymous	<i>P.Sorb.</i> II 69 (see 01)			
80	Anonymous	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> III 355	?	Arsinoite	VII-VIII
81	Anonymous	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> VIII 835	Receipt. The inhabitants of Thambator acknowledge having received money through the secretary Naaraus	Arsinoite	VI
82	Anonymous	<i>Stud.Pal.</i> VIII 1109	?	Arsinoite	VI-VII

MARC DE GROOTE

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A Duke Papyrus of Herodotus iv 144.2-145.1¹

P.Duke inv. 756

4 cm x 12.7 cm

Late I/early II A.D.

Plate 4²

Provenance unknown

This papyrus is a fragment from the bottom of a column showing right and bottom margins measuring ca. 1 and 4 cm respectively, and preserving the ends of 14 lines of Herodotus iv.144.2-145.1. The provenance of the piece is unknown.³ The column averages 17 letters per line, and the column width is estimated to be ca. 6.5 cm. The text is written along the fibers and the back is blank. No lectional signs are in evidence. Iota adscript is written in line 6.

The text is executed in a competent, not very uniform round hand of medium size. It displays strict bilinearity and a tendency for equal size letters. Ligature is avoided but at the very end of a line some letters touch each other. Some ornamentation in the form of tiny serifs, mainly at the edge of some verticals (e.g. γ, η, κ, ν, τ) is present. Letters worthy of description are: the almost round ε and c; the short ρ with open "head" (line 11); κ with its diagonals separated from the vertical; the broad and angular α (the only exception is the second occurrence of this letter in line 13); τ with slightly "broken" horizontal; υ written rapidly in two movements with the

¹ The papyrus published here is housed in the Special Collections Library of Duke University. I am grateful to Professor John F. Oates and to the authorities of the Special Collections Library for their permission to publish it and reproduce its image. I am also indebted to Dr. D. Obbink who kindly read a draft of this article, and Dr. N. Gonis who helped me with his expertise in publishing papyri from the web and the Duke collection. I would also like to thank Mr. J. Bauschatz who checked the original at my request.

² See also: <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/images/150dpi/756-at150.gif>.

³ Prof. J.F. Oates informed me that this papyrus was purchased by D.M. Robinson probably in the early 1950s and was bequeathed by him to W.H. Willis who in turn gave it to the Duke Library in 1986. Robinson purchased the piece from Eric von Scherling, the Dutch rare book dealer.

bottom in the form of a loop (line 10). The middle stroke of η is almost diagonal; its left edge intersects almost the top of the left-hand side vertical of the letter (lines 3, 12). The size and *ductus* of σ varies; on the one hand in some examples it tends to diminish and remain open towards the end of the line (lines 12, 13), while in others it is much bigger and of conical shape (line 10, first instance in line 11). Comparable hands in terms of general style, shading and size are those displayed in C.H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands. 350 B.C.-A.D. 400* (Oxford 1955) 13a (ca. 125 A.D.) and 13b (assigned to the first half of the second century). Some individual letters vary strikingly between the hands shown in Roberts and that of our piece, e.g. α (apart from the second example in line 3 of our papyrus), κ and μ , but the examples in Roberts are all written in similar plain round hands, which cannot be far-off in date. There are also similarities with the hand of *P.Flor.* I 61 (85 A.D.) reproduced in M. Norsa, *La Scrittura letteraria greca dal sec. IV a.C. all'VIII d.C.* (Florence 1939) 12A, and Roberts, *op.cit.* 11a (*terminus ante quem* A.D. 100-1) and b (94 A.D.). Therefore, the hand of our piece could be placed in the late first/early second century A.D.

The remains of the papyrus are insufficient to establish the quality of the text. Apart from the corruption in line 3, there is no departure from the tradition of the medieval manuscripts, while readings in lines 4 and 5 deduced from spacing might hint at a tendency towards agreement with the more ancient family, the "Florentine" (ABC).

The chief significance of the piece is that it is the earliest, and only the second hitherto published, papyrus bearing text of Herodotus' fourth book. *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3379 (Mertens-Pack³ 474.2),⁴ assigned to the third century, is the other papyrus representative of Hdt. iv (168.1-2). Hdt. iv.161 is cited in *P.Oxy.* XI 1367.36ff., (late second century, Pack² 460), which preserves a work by Heracleides Lembus.

⁴ Information now available also on-line at: <http://www.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal/MP3/fexp.shtml>

The papyrus has been collated against the Teubner edition of H.B. Rosén.⁵ The symbol Ω is employed to denote all the manuscripts collated for this particular section by Rosén, while Ω stands for all the manuscripts collated *uno minus*.⁶

	]χ.	iv.144.2
	[ρου τον αιcχι]ονα ελε-	
	]μηεαςαν	
4	[τυφλοι ουτος] δη ων τoτe	iv.144.3
	[ο Μεγαβαζο]c cτρατη-	
	[γoc λειφθεις] εν τηι χω-	
	[ρηι Ελληcπον]τιων τουc	margin
8	[μη μηδιζοντ]αc κα[τε]c-	
	[τρεφετο ουτοc] μεν νυ[ν]	iv.145.1
	[ταυτα επρηcce] τον αυ-	
	[τον δε τουτον] χρονον	
12	[εγινετο επι Λιβ]υην αλ-	
	[λοc cτρατιηc με]γαc cτο-	
	[λοc δια προφ]αcιν την	
	margin	

1-4 χώρου τὸν αἰσχίονα ἐλέεσθαι εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοὶ Ω.

1 $\chi_:$ remains of two letters, specifically apex at mid-letter height which could well suit the lower half of χ , and left-hand side

⁵ *Herodoti Historiae* I (Leipzig 1987).

⁶ These symbols have been introduced by J. Diggle in his OCT edition of Euripides, vols. I (1984) and III (1994).

part of a curve intersected at top by a short horizontal, which cannot be straightforwardly identified with the expected ω .

3 $\mu\eta\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\alpha\nu$: $\mu\eta\ \eta\varsigma\alpha\nu\ \Omega$. The third letter could be more easily read as ϵ than c , since traces of ink, probably part of ϵ 's middle stroke, are discernible below the cap of the letter. This reading produces a wrong variant but closer to the $\mu\eta\ \epsilon\varsigma\alpha\nu$ which Dindorf prints (cf. p. xxiii in his edition);⁷ the first α in the papyrus was perhaps written in anticipation of the second. The epic form $\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\nu$ is not considered to have been employed by Herodotus (see J.E. Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus* [Hildesheim 1960²] 104). However, one cannot exclude the possibility that part of the Herodotean tradition could have had $\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\nu$, which the Duke papyrus witnessed. If the traces below the top of the letter ϵ are stray ink, the reading of c would produce the corrupt reading $\mu\eta\varsigma\alpha\varsigma\alpha\nu$, probably due to two scribal blunders: omission of one of the successive etas and dittography of $c\alpha$. In any case, the number of characters to be supplied before $\mu\eta$ would render this line suspiciously shorter (by about four characters) than the rest. No variants in the manuscripts are reported by the editions; perhaps a correction or dittography may have occurred.

3-4 $\epsilon\iota\ \dots\ \tau\upsilon\phi\lambda\omicron\iota$ was deleted by Herwerden. The papyrus does not confirm the modern conjecture.

4 $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\]\ \delta\eta\colon\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\eta}\ \Omega\colon\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\acute{\eta}\ \text{DRSV}$. Space suggests that $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ was not written in our piece. The collocation of the particles $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\acute{\eta}\ \acute{\omega}\nu$ is unattested in Herodotus and very rare in the classical literature in general (unique examples of $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\acute{\eta}\ \acute{\omega}\nu$ in Plato, *Phaedrus* 252e.1 and 256a.7); therefore the papyrus preserves the *lectio melior*. However, the common $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ at the beginning of a clause (e.g. in proximity Hdt. iv.145.1), as well as $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\acute{\eta}$, could have prompted the variant reading.

5 Spacing suggests that the papyrus included the article before Μεγαβαζο]c with Ω and against DRSV which omit it.

⁷ *Herodoti Halicarnassensis Historiarum Libri IX* (Paris 1887).

6 Spacing is indecisive whether the papyrus witnessed λειφθεíc with Ω or ληφθεíc with MPp Ald. The latter reading yields no sense, cf. Hdt. iv.143.1; it should have originated as a phonetic mistake.

8 [μη μηδιζοντ]αc: μη μηδίζονταc Ω: μηδίζονταc D. In terms of spacing the latter reading is not corroborated by our piece. This minority reading *contra sensum* is probably due to haplography.

8-9 κα[τε]c[: κατεcτρέφετο Ω: κατεcτρέφατο SV (ungrammatical).

11 Spacing is indecisive whether the papyrus witnessed δέ with Ω or δή with T.

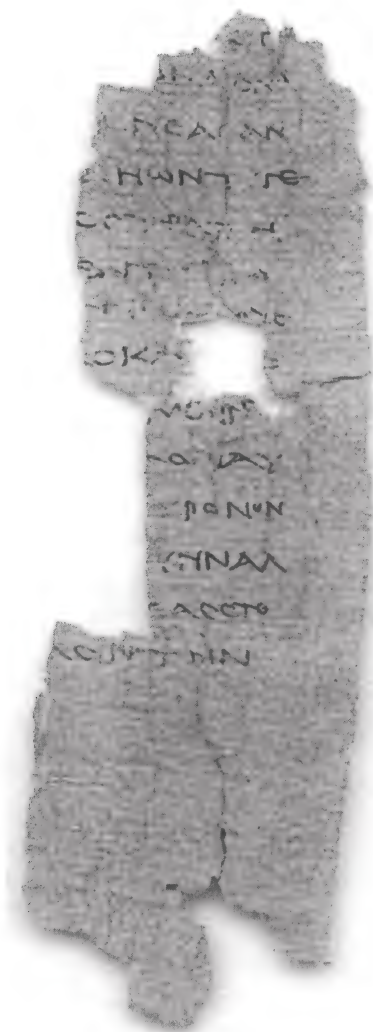
12 Spacing is again inconclusive whether the papyrus read ἐγίνετο with Ω or ἐγένετο with D.

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Plate 4

(to Hatzilambrou, "A Duke Papyrus ...")



P.Duke inv. 756

(Image digitally reproduced with the permission of the Special Collections Library, Duke University)

A Seventh-Century List of Jars from Edfu¹

P.CtYBR inv. 72

15.5 cm x 9.7 cm

619-629 or shortly later

Plates 5-6²

Edfu

This papyrus, whose margins are all preserved, was purchased in Egypt by H.I. Bell from Hamed Hamid in Edfu on 7.12.1926. The item was numbered "II 6" in Bell's distribution list of purchases for that year. Bell dated the text palaeographically to the sixth/seventh century A.D.; there is a distinct possibility (cf. Verso, 1n.) that the text can be dated more precisely, i.e. to the period A.D. 619-629 or shortly afterwards.

Evidently, we are dealing with an administrative list specifying the deliveries of various types of jars. The content of these jars is not indicated in the preserved part of the document, but the most obvious commodities that they might have held are wine, oil or plain water.

Recto

		Ἰντα (και) δοθ()	
		] Κολλούθου	
		]α	κόλ(οβα) ρξ
4		] .ωρα	κόλ(οβα)
	ἀπὸ κυρ(ίου)	]ερίου	κόλ(οβα) ρ
	ἀπὸ κυρίου	] ου	κόλ(οβα) ρμ

¹ We are most grateful to our colleagues Dr. N. Gonis (Oxford), who directed our attention to this interesting document, and Dr. Rober Babcock (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University), who kindly gave us permission to publish this text.

² Images of this papyrus can be found at: <http://130.132.81.124/papyrimg/S4183882.JPG> and <http://130.132.81.124/papyrimg/S4183883.JPG>

7 For the restoration cf. Verso, line 5, mentioning the same (?) Strategius. We see no link with the most famous Strategius mentioned in documents from the early seventh century; for the latter see B. Palme, "Die domus gloriosa des Flavius Strategius Pannephemos," *Chiron* 27 (1997) 95-125.

For the κόεις, jar attested to date only once in a Greek document, see Kruit - Worp, "Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids," *AFP* 45 (1999) 104 on *SB* XVIII 13930.5, 7, 9, 13 (VI/VII A.D. = *P.Ross.Georg.* V 41.Frr. IV, V + *BGU* III 972), οἷ(νου) κόεις 400 ἀνὰ λάκ 4 ἐκάστου κόεις (i.e. 4 λάκ = 1 κόεις); for attestations in Coptic documents, see W.E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 120a; *O.Crum* 217 (pp. 27-8, n. 1); *CPR* IV 35 introd., XII 13.4n.; *O.Vind.Copt.* 359; *P.Mich.Copt.* III 3.7-8; *O.Medin.Habu* 62.5; *O.Bawit* 53. The precise size of the κόεις is unknown. Assuming that a single κνίδιον contains at least 3 ξέκτ., it follows that 1 λακοοτ holds ($4 \times 3 =$) 12 ξέκτ. ($= \pm 6.5$ l.). Assuming, furthermore, that 1 λακοοτ = 1 λάκ, a κόεις would contain ($4 \times 12 =$) 48 ξέκτ. ($= \pm 26$ l.); jars containing 48-50 ξέκτ. are well known, cf. Kruit - Worp, *ibid.* 99. If, however, 1 λάκ = 0.5 ξέκτ. (see K.A. Worp forthcoming in *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of Coptologists* [Leiden 2000]), 1 κόεις would have 2 ξέκτ., i.e. smaller than the smallest Greek κνίδιον known to date; cf. Kruit - Worp, *AFP* 46 (2000) 104-10. Evidently, the addition of (κόεις μεγάλα) 60 + 52 produces a total of 112 (ριβ, cf. line 14)

10 (and Verso, 2): For a man called Liberius holding the office of pagarch in Apollonos Ano/Edfu ca. 650 A.D., see *P.Apoll.* 61.v.16 with note, and J. Gascoy - K.A. Worp, "Problèmes de documentation apollinopolite," *ZPE* 49 (1982) 83-95, esp. 84; it is conceivable that we are dealing with the same person everywhere. For the date of the present text, cf. below, note to line 1, Verso.

For the use of κύριος, cf. H. Harrauer - B. Rom, "Ho kurios-Listen auf Papyrus," *Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 111-5.

10 and 15 We resolve ὀμφ() as ὀμφ(ακηραί) [for this term cf. the Appendix, below], while comparing *SB* XIV 12077.4, 5 (2x ὀμφ(ακηρά); cf. line 3, ὀμφακηρά), but we cannot exclude a resolution ὀμφ(αρά) serving as a spelling variant of ἄμφ(οράρια); cf. below

at *P.Vindob.Worp* 11.12. For the various forms of the term ἀμφοράριον in the papyri, cf.:

ἀμφολαρι[-: *SB* XX 14210.3 (VI A.D.).

ἀμφ(ολάριον): *P.Got.* 17.v.6 (VI/VII A.D.; cf. below sub ἀμφολάρ(ιον)).

ἀμφορ(άριον): *P.Mich.* XV 740.2, 20 (VI A.D.; the editor resolves the unique, hence unlikely form ἀμφορ(εύς)).

ἀμφολάρ(ιον): *P.Got.* 17.r.17; 17.v.5, 11, 21 (VI/VII A.D.; see also under ἀμφ(ολάριον)).

ὀμφαλάριον: *P.Herm.* 23.7 (IV A.D.); *P.Vindob.Worp* 11.6 (VI A.D.); *P.Laur.* IV 184.7 (VII A.D.).

ὀμφαλάρ(ιον): *SB* XVIII 13762.23 (VI/VII A.D.).

ὀμφ(αράριον): *P.Vindob.Worp* 11.12 (VI A.D.; cf. the same papyrus, line 6: ὀμφαλάριον).

11 The name Ἀρίστιος has a classical ring and occurs more frequently in Ptolemaic papyri than in later times. We have not found a man Aristius in other documents from Edfu. W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie* 62, mentions only the name Aristios from *O.CrumST* 61.3.

12 We have not found a man Χαρήσιος elsewhere in documents from Edfu; the name's regular spelling is Χαρίσιος.

γωμιτ(): perhaps an error for κόμιτ(ος)? We have no solution to offer for the word(s) preceding μ(ε)γ(άλα) ζ.

12 and 15 For jars called μεγάλα cf. *P.Sarga*, p. 24 under # 14. The precise content of such jars is not known and one can only observe that apparently they are in this papyrus distinguished from κόεις μεγάλ- (cf. 7, 11, 14), the κόλοβα (cf. line 3n.), the ὀμφακηραί (cf. above, note to lines 10 and 15), and the πυρρά (cf. below, note to line 13), maybe also from πυρρά μεγάλα and κόλοβα μεγάλα (cf. below, Verso lines 2-4). Furthermore, the situation is even more complicated, because jar designations like ἀγγεῖα μεγάλα, διπλᾶ μεγάλα, κνίδια μεγάλα and λάη μεγάλα are also known. Perhaps these and similar jars are generally to be distinguished from ἀγγεῖα μικρά, διπλᾶ μικρά, κνίδια μικρά, κόεις μικρ-, λάη μικρά, and πυρρά μικρά, while the nature of their different quality is the same as of the dif-

ference between ἀπλοῦν / διπλοῦν, μονόχωρον / δίχωρον, etc. However, the question still remains as to what distinguishes a μέγα from, e.g., κόεις μέγα? To be sure, in documents one should distinguish between the abbreviations μ^γ = μ(έ)γ(α) and μαγ() = μαγ(αρικόν).

13 For the term πραγματευτής = "trader," see N. Gonis, "Some Πραγματευταί with False Identities," *ZPE* 132 (2000) 187-8; the resolution of the abbreviation is inspired by the fact that already before the beginning of the fifth century an official called πραγματικός no longer appears in our documents. The latest instance is πραγμα[ατικοῦ in *SPP* XX 88.12 from 337 A.D.

For πυρρόν = "red" jars, see our discussion of *BGU* II 549 = *SPP* VIII 897.6 in *AFP* 46 (2000) 107, n. 103. After we published this article, our colleague A. Boud'hors (Paris) kindly drew our attention to a publication by C. Heurtel³ of a Coptic ostrakon featuring the Coptic term ΤΑΡΩΕ and the Greek term πυρρόν next to each other. While noting earlier attestations of the ΤΑΡΩΕ in *O. Medin. HabuCopt.* 41 and *O. Crum* 475 (the term is not listed in Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*) Ms Heurtel states that "c'est l'héritier du vase "rouge" de l'Égypte ancienne (SD DŠR)" and that "l'adjectif grec a été utilisé comme correspondante étymologique de ΤΑΡΩΕ alors qu'il ne semble pas avoir dans les textes documentaire grecs un sens équivalent à celui du mot Copte." To this observation we add a comment made by P. Ballet, *De la Méditerranée à l'Océan indien. L'Égypte et le commerce de longue distance à l'époque romaine: les données céramiques*. *TOPOI* 6.2 (1996) 809-40, esp. fn. 45: "Les amphores d'Edfou se subdivisent en deux groupes: un ensemble à pâte alluviale brune, comprenant une proportion assez importante de dégraissant végétal; un second à pâte alluviale brune, fine, et à engobe rouge rosé (our italics)."

³ In *Études Coptes* vol. V = *Cahiers de la bibliothèque Copte* 10 (Paris - Louvain 1998) 150.

Verso

While the text on this side of the papyrus and that on the recto have a similar character, it would go too far to contend that the text on this side forms a sequel to the text on the other side.

- † Λ(ό)γ(ος) Κοσμᾶς νοταρ(ίου) Ἀστραγατουρ
 ἀπὸ κυρ(ίου) Λιβεριίου κόεις μ(ε)γ(άλ-) ιδ
 (καὶ) πυρρ(ᾶ) μ(ε)γ(άλα) δ (καὶ) μικρ(ᾶ) πυρρ(ᾶ) ς
 4 (καὶ) κόλ(οβα) μ(ε)γ(άλα) δ
 ἀπὸ κυρ(ίου) Στρατηγίου κόεις μ(ε)γ(άλ-) ιβ
 α ὁμοί(ως) Κοσμᾶς νοταρ(ίου) κόλ(οβα) κς
 β Κοσμᾶς ὁμοί(ως) κόλ(οβα) λ
 8 γ τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) ὁμοί(ως) κόλ(οβα) κ
 δ ὁμοί(ως) τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) κόλ(οβα) ι
 [γίν. (ὁμοῦ)]μ (καὶ) κόλ(οβα) μικρ(ᾶ) πς

1, 6, 7 Κοσμᾶ

† Account of Kosmas, secretary of Astragatour (?); from lord Liberios, 14 large *koeis* and 4 large "red" jars and 6 small "red" jars and 4 large *koloba* ; from lord Strategios, 12 large *koeis*; on the (?) 1st, likewise, of Kosmas secretary, 27 *koloba*; on the (?) 2nd, of Kosmas, likewise, 30 *koloba*; on the (?) 3rd, of the same, likewise, 20 *koloba*; on the (?) 4th, likewise, of the same, 10 *koloba*. [Makes together] 40 --- and 87 small *koloba*.

1 A word combination "Κοσμ- νοταρ-" (cf. lines 6ff.) occurs 7 times in the DDBDP.

Ἀστραγατουρ (or Ἀστραζατουρ): we reckon tht the undeclined and unabbreviated form ἀστραγατουρ/ἀστραζατουρ may contain a Persian (Iranian) personal name, cf. the remarks by J. Gascou, "Notes de papyrologie byzantine (II)," *Cd'É* 59 (1984) 337-40, esp. 339 fn. 4 on names like "Asphatourios/Aspagourios" deriving from a

Persian background. If this approach is correct,⁴ one automatically obtains a date for this text, as it must have been written during the period of the Persian occupation of Egypt or not long afterwards. In itself it is not abnormal to find in the papyri people styled as "νοτάριος τοῦ δεῖνος," cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002.ii.15, III 67289.v.2; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1893.31.

2-5 An addition of the amounts "14 + 4 + 6 + 4 + 12" makes "40" (in line 10). Evidently all different jars from lines 2-5, i.e. κόεις μεγάλ-, πυρρά μεγάλα, μικρά πυρρά, and κόλλαθα μεγάλα, were counted together indiscriminately. In view of the restricted space available at the start of line 10, we cannot propose a complete restoration for the lacuna; maybe one should think of a generic term like κέραμια.

6-9 An addition of the amounts "27 + 30 + 20 + 10" makes "87" (in line 10). Evidently, the κόλλαθα from lines 6-9 were κόλλαθα μικρά.

One can only guess what the numerals α, β, γ, δ at the start of these lines refer to: days in a month, e.g., or deliveries (φορά)?

APPENDIX

ΑΜΦΟΚΕΡΑΙΟΣ:

AN ETYMOLOGICAL MISUNDERSTANDING

LSJ Revised Supplement (1996) contains on p. 25 the following entry: "ἄμφοκέραιος, ον, *two-handed*, *P.Oxy.* 1343 (VI A.D.; -κερνια pap.; for *ἄμφικ-)." No doubt, this entry derives from a similar entry in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* I (1925) col. 73, "ἄμφοκέραιος, doppelgehenkelt, Ox

⁴ We consulted Prof. D. Weber (Göttingen) on this matter; he replied that in itself the name Ἀστραγατοῦρ/Ἀστραζατοῦρ definitely looks like an Iranian/Persian compound, that names ending in "-adur" (in Middle-Persian: "Fire") or in (Iranian) "-tour" look acceptable enough, but that it is difficult to find a convincing explanation for the first part of the name, "Astras(a)-"/"Astrag(a)-."

1343 [VI]: κοῦφα ἀμφοκέρυια (read: -κέραια)." The edition of the papyrus itself presents only an entry "κοῦφα ἀμφοκερυια η," without accentuation for the word under review; it gives no commentary on the word's meaning or etymology and only contains in the word indices (p. 297) an entry "ἀμφοκέρυιος (?) 1343." It seems obvious that Preisigke was the first scholar to seek the origin of the compound in a combination of an element ἀμφί + an element κέρα.

In itself this might seem acceptable enough, if there were not the remarks on compounds in -κέρα made by P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue grecque* II (Paris 1970), pp. 517-8 s.v. κέρα: "comme second terme apparaissent également des formes diverses: -κέρα dans δίκηρα (Callix.) et dans les noms des plants: αἶγο-, βοῦ-, ταυρο-, n. d'après la forme du fruit ---; la plupart des composés sont en -κερω ---; il existe aussi quelques composés thématiques en -ος: p. -ê. μουνόκερος (Archil.), νήκερος, nom. pl. νήκεροι "sans cornes" (Hés. *Tr.* 529); on observera aussi les féminins καλλικέραν, ὑπικέραν (B.); les composés en -κερατος sont rares et relativement tardifs, p. ex.: ἀκέρατος (Pl., Arist.), Pl., *Plt.* 265 b c, emploie τῆς ἀκεράτου à côté de ἀκερων; ἀκέρωτος (*AP* 6, 258) est isolé, mais témoigne de l'extension de la finale -ωτος."

Though *LSJ* lists an adjective δίκηρατος, "two-horned, two-pointed," from *AP* 6, 111, Chantraine does not discuss its formation.⁵ The only other Greek adjective in -κέρατος is ἀκέρατος, but its meaning of "pure, unmixed" indicates that this adjective derives from the verb κεράννυμι and has nothing to do with κέρα.

So much is certain, therefore, that the number of compounds with a second element in -κερατος and connected with κέρα = "horn > handle" is remarkably small. For that reason one may look for an alternative approach for explaining a form ἀμφοκερυιος, purportedly written instead of an intended (but unattested) ἀμφικέρατος. Such an approach is easily available, if one reckons with three well-attested linguistic phenomena:

⁵ Our colleague Prof. Dr. C.J. Ruijgh who read an earlier version of this note kindly referred us to Pollux 1.91 where there is an entry "ἀκροκέραια" (n. pl.), "ends of sail-yards," a substantive made from an adjective ἀκροκέρατος; the substantive ἡ κεραία, "horn, sail-yard," obviously derives from κέρα.

a) interchange between the vowels α/ο, visible in particular in forms like ὀμφαλάριον for ὀμφαράριον/ἀμφοράριον; of course, one should also reckon with the reverse, i.e. ἀμφο- written for ὀμφα- (cf. below, *SB XX 14625.24*);

b) loss of difference of length between the vowels ε/η, for which see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar I*, 242ff.; for an illustration of this phenomenon in the word under review, cf. below, at *P.Oxy. XVI 1924.5*, 11 and *SB XX 14625.24*.⁶

c) a vulgar spelling of the adjective as ending in -υιόκ instead of a regular -ιόκ, perhaps influenced by the pronunciation of Greek υιόκ as "iós."

Hence, we would regard a spelling ἀμφοκέρυιόκ as a vulgar variant of an adjective ὀμφακήριος going with ἡ ὀμφακηρά "a rounded vessel, flaggon" (so *LSJ Rev. Suppl.* 228). As a container of sweet grape juice, garum and wine, this type of vessel occurs already in a number of papyri (listed here in chronological order without correcting the original spelling of ὀμφακηρά), viz. in:

<i>P.Abinn.</i> 31 (= <i>P.Lond.</i> II 239).13 (IV A.D.)	γλυκοιδίων ὀμφακηρά α.
<i>PSI VII 829.9</i> (IV A.D.)	ὀμφακηρῶν δ.
<i>Tyche</i> 11 (1996) 231, ii.20ff. (IV A.D.)	ὀμφακερ() n, ὀμφ() n ⁷

⁶ Prof. Ruijgh compares the development of classical Greek νηρόν > Modern Greek νερό.

⁷ The editor of this Vienna papyrus takes the view (cf. his remarks at p. 237) that the gender of ὀμφακηρ- in this text is neuter, because he reads the verb in line 21 as ἐκλάσθη. On Plate 8 in *Tyche* 11 one sees after ἐκλασθη a small dot. Upon our request Prof. H. Harrauer checked the original papyrus for us and confirmed that this is not dirt or stray ink but deliberate writing. As we do not think that this is a form of interpunctuation, we take it as a kind of imperfect abbreviation marking, hence we read ἐκλάσθη(σαν). Hence we come to the conclusion that there is no need to regard the noun in the Vienna papyrus as a neuter variant of the fem. noun ὀμφακηρά, deriving from the adjective ὀμφακηρός. According to the electronic TLG, this feminine noun is found in Georgius Cedrenus, *Compend. Historiarum* I, p. 679.6, and Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, p. 235.28. Both describe a fire in the imperial palace in Constantinople which went ἕως τῆς (Theoph. adds "λεγομένης") Ὀμφακερᾶς. In the passage cited by the editor of the Vienna papyrus from Aetius Amidenus, *Iatricorum* V 141.17, ἀγγεῖα ὀστράκινα τὰ ὀμφακηρά καλούμενα, the adjective ὀμφακηρά takes the same neuter plural form

<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIV 2729.20, 21 (late IV A.D.)	οἶνου ὀμφακηραί.
<i>SB</i> XIV 12077.3-5 (IV-V A.D.)	ὀμφακηρά μία, ὀμφ(ακηρά) α.
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1870.13 (V A.D.)	οἷ]γου ὀμφακηράν μίαν.
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 2047.2 (V A.D.)	ὀμφακηρ(άν) προπώμ(ατος) α.
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1924.6, 12 (V/VI A.D.)	ὀμφοκεράς γάρου α; ὀμφωκεράς κούφ[η] α.
<i>SB</i> XX 14625,24 (V/VI A.D.)	ἀμφοκεράς β.
<i>P.Wash. Univ.</i> II 105.3 (VI/VII A.D.)	ὀμφοκ(ηράς) δ [evidently wine].

For the etymology of ὀμφακηρά as a "rounded container" (grape-shaped?), cf. *P.Abinn.* 31.12n. (where one finds a citation from *LSJ* s.v. ὀμφακηρός, "for holding ὀμφακες" = grapes) and *P.Wash. Univ.* II 105.3n. In sum, in *P.Oxy.* X 1343 one seems to be dealing with eight κοῦφα-jars of the (grape-shaped) ὀμφακηρά-type. For κοῦφα see the discussion in *ZPE* 136 (2002) 142, note to line 2 of *P.NYU* II 22.

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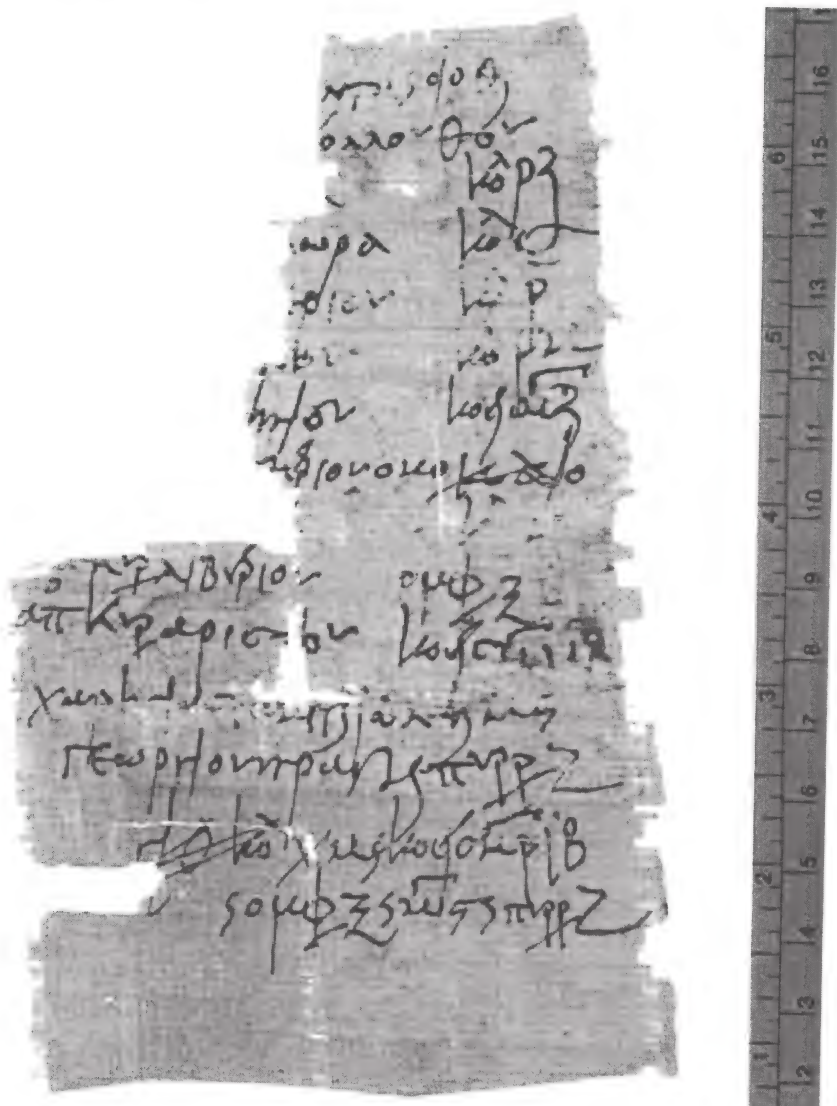
Correction note:

A reedition of *P.Got.* 17 (see above, p. 50) will appear in a forthcoming volume of *Eranos*.

as the noun to which it belongs. The same applies to *ibid.*, 140.9, τὸ μέλι --- ἀναλάμβανε ὀστρακίνοις ἀγγείοις μάλιστα ὀμφακηροῖς.

(to Kruit & Worp, "List of Jars ...")

Plate 5

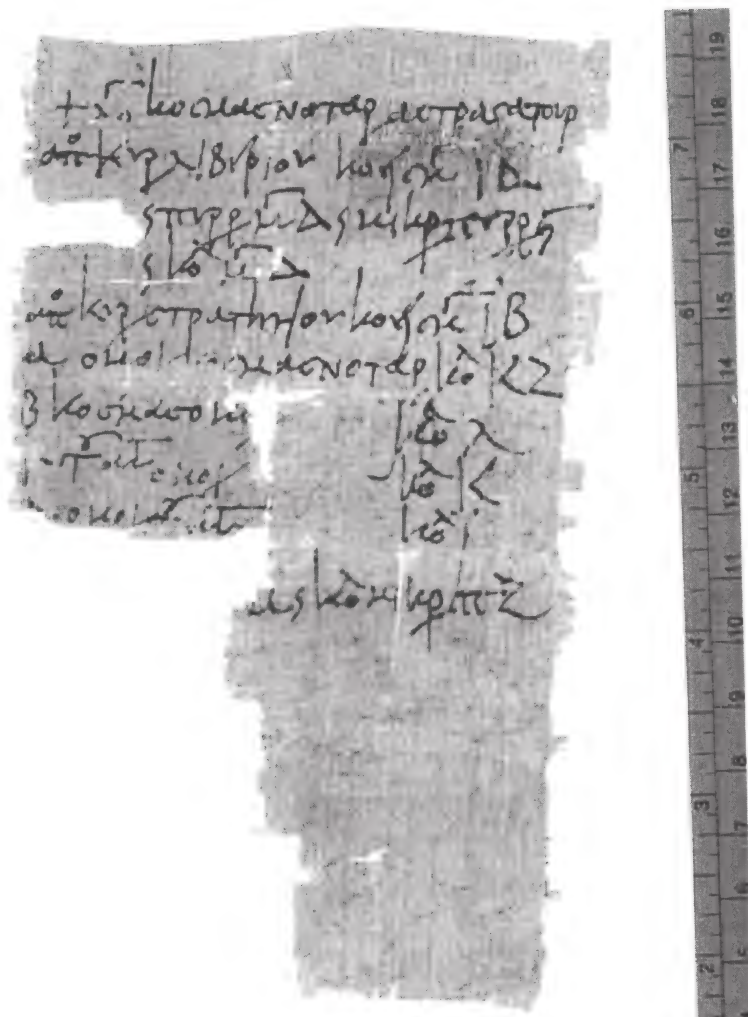


P.CtYBR inv. 72, Recto

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Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

(to Kruit & Worp, "List of Jars ...")

Plate 6



P.CtYBR inv. 72, Verso

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Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

Notationes Legentis

P.Oxy. LXVII 4626

This is a private letter written on the back of a petition of 259 C.E. Complaints that "you never write" (*vel sim.*) were clichés of ancient, as of present-day, epistolography. Here, too, the sender complains [οὐδ]᾽ ἐγ γράφεις, and when, towards the close, he adds τὸν καλὸν Ἀγαθόποδα ἀσπάζαι καὶ ἐκ[. .] αὐτὸς ἡμῖν οὐ γράφει, the editor proposes restoring εἰ καὶ (?) and translating. "Greetings to the excellent Agathopous, even if he too (?) does not write to us."

That, I think, comes close to what the writer intended, but it leaves us with one καὶ floating in the air. Perhaps what he wrote was καὶ εἰκὸς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν οὐ γράφει, "even though he too probably won't write to us" (using a present tense to effect an emphatic, continuative future sense).

Observations on *P.Yale III 137*

This document is captioned

- παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πασιῶν[ο]ς κωμογρ(αμματέως) Φιλαδελφίας
κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν παρασκευαζομένων
εἰδῶν τε καὶ γενῶν πεμπομένων εἰς Συρίαν
4 τοῖς γεννεοτάτοις στρατεύμασι τοῦ κυρίου
ἡμῶν Αὐτ[ο]κράτορος Σεουήρου
Ἀντωνείνου Εὐτυχοῦ[ς] Εὐσεβοῦς
Σεβαστοῦ.

There follow alphabetical lists of landowners, with the arourage of *σιτ(ικὴ γῆ)* and, if any, of *δενδ(ρικὴ γῆ)* owned by each, e.g.,

- 108 Κοτταρᾶς Ἰούστου *σιτ.* (ἄρ.) ιβ *δενδ.* (ἄρ.) βζλϝ
109 κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀντᾶτος οὐετρ(ανοῦ) *σιτ.* (ἄρ.) ζ

The editor translates lines 1-3 thus: "From Aurelius Pasion, village scribe of Philadelphia. (Itemized list,) by persons, of payments in cash and in kind prepared to be sent to Syria," In the In-

troduction he comments (p. 5): "Strictly speaking, the heading does not fit the actual contents of the register: no 'payments in cash and in kind' are listed in the text."

Komogrammateis, as we observe their work in the papyri, are far from error-free, but an inconcinnity of such magnitude must surely give us pause. Fortunately, "this discrepancy," as the editor terms it, is an *ignis fatuus*; this document was not intended to be a record of payments. That is apparent from a glance at the plates: there is no room for additional writing in most of the lines or in the spaces between the columns of writing. Furthermore, no word for payment *vel sim.* occurs anywhere in the document. What the komogrammateus prepared here, as his caption plainly states, is a list of *persons* from whom the contributions for the army in Syria were to be obtained. Their landholdings were evidently to be the basis of their assessments.

With the aid of relevant documents previously published it is possible to reconstruct the sequence of events of which *P.Yale* 137 was a part. But first, a brief digression relating to the form of this document. It will have been noticed that the document has no addressee. That is often a sign that a document is a preliminary draft rather than a final version. That may also be the case here. But, as there is nothing tentative or unfinished about this text (except for the omission of month and day, to be inserted as needed), it is probably closer to the mark, I think, to see in it a master- or file-copy, from which other copies would be made as required.

Now for the place of *P.Yale* 137 in this military requisition.

1. The administrative process began, presumably, with the Prefect of Egypt, whose office notified the three epistrategoi that requisitions of such-and-such items and quantities were to be assessed upon the owners of grain- and orchard-land in the nomes under their jurisdiction, the collections to be completed and delivered by such-and-such date.

2. The epistrategoi transmitted the order to their strategoi, specifying to each the amounts to be raised in his nome.¹

¹ The role of the epistrategos in military requisitions is summarized by J.D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos*. Pap.Colon. 6.2 (1982) 166-70. Note especially

3. In order to make the appropriate assessment the strategoi needed a list of the relevant landowners in each nome's capital and villages. Their sources, to whom they would apply routinely for this or similar information, were the grammateis poleos and the komogrammateis.² *P.Yale 137* is the komogrammateus's reply to that request for the village of Philadelphia. Obviously, he would have prepared similar lists for each of the other villages (if any) that he served.

4. With these lists in hand, the strategos could proceed to assess the levies and order the collection procedures. As we see in minute detail in *P.Panop.Beatty 1*, *ad hoc* liturgists would be appointed to carry out the various functions involved in a collection of this magnitude.³

A collection of what? The phrase εἰδῶν τε καὶ γενῶν in the caption is translated by the editor as "payments in cash and in kind." On "payments" enough has been said above; what of "cash" and "kind"? In the notes the editor remarks (pp. 67-9), "I have found no exact parallel to this expression in this period," and, citing instances where γενικῶς is contrasted with ἀργυρικῶς, he adds, "I would assume that ἀργυρικὸς corresponds to εἶδος. The couple εἶδος/γένος is paralleled in Latin with *species/genus*."⁴ The editor does, however, concede that "the specific meaning of εἶδος as 'cash'

P.Oxy. XVIII 2182, XLIII 3109 and *SB* XIV 11651 (= *P.Mich. inv.* 3627v, published in *Anc.Soc.* 8 [1977] 195-207).

² Information about residents and their property holdings was a prominent part of the day-to-day communications between the komogrammateus and the strategos. Cf. notably, *inter alia plurima*, *P.Petaus*, *passim*.

³ In *P.Panop.Beatty 1*, which dates from 298 C.E., a procurator of the Lower Thebaid has replaced the preexisting procuratorial epistrategos of the Thebaid.

⁴ The citations of *species* and *genus* as opposites in *TLL* VI.2 1902.49-1903.9 are irrelevant here, having nothing to do with cash. So, too, with the editor's deduction from *P.Lond.* III 1101 (published in *ZPE* 89 [1991] 263-7), which records money payments ὑπὲρ χόρτου μονοδεσμίας καὶ χαρτηρᾶς ... καὶ ἄλλων εἰδῶν: to argue that "since ... μονοδεσμία refers to a tax paid in cash, the expression ἄλλα εἶδη can implicitly refer also to payments in cash" is a non-sequitur. The εἶδη here are not the *medium* of payment, but other *items* like χόρτου μονοδεσμία, taxes which were payable in money.

is not always clear: in some cases it is apparently used for 'kind' (*in natura*).⁵ This last sentence is good as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. The association of εἶδος with "cash" is not only not clear, it is, I suspect, non-existent; at all events, the association of εἶδος with payments or collections in kind is abundantly attested.

The word εἶδος, originally of broad, general sense, came to be used also in a number of specific senses, money not being one of them. Indeed, εἶδος is sometimes found specifically contrasted with money: in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2020, for example, payments in kind, ἐν εἰδε-
σιν κριθ(ῆς), and those made in money (*adaeratio*), τῶν ἐν ἀπαργυ-
ρισμ(ῶ), are two discrete categories. In *P.Panop.Beatty* 1 εἶδη designates the several items of foodstuffs—wheat, barley, meat, etc.—requisitioned for a military unit; εἶδος in *P.Yale* 137 is readily understandable in this light.⁵

What then of γένος? It, too, denotes a group, or class, or type. This suggests, as one possibility, that the phrase εἰδῶν τε καὶ γενῶν is an example of what is sometimes called "legal fullness of expression," i.e. a blanket formula designed to cover any and all contingencies or relevancies. That is how the phrase is used, for example, in *P.Oxy.* VIII 1134.12-3, where the addressee is freed from any and all claims regarding crops (γενημάτων) or money (ἀργυρικοῦ) or περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς εἶδους ἢ γένους. The variant ἐν παντὶ εἶδει καὶ γένει is also found, especially in later papyri. Conceivably, then, on this analogy the caption of *P.Yale* 137 can be understood as heading a list of the "kinds and sorts" of supplies being collected for shipment to the army in Syria. That, however, has about it a lack of specificity that ought, I should think, to be foreign to a document of this character. We do better, I think, to return for guidance to *P.Panop.Beatty*.

In the context of the military commissariat εἶδη, as already noted, were provisions; thus each element therein—wheat, barley, meat, fodder, etc.—was an εἶδος. We also know that requisitions for

⁵ Εἶδος in this sense is, of course, not limited to the military milieu. Another excellent example, *inter alia plurima*, of εἶδος as a commodity is found in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1924, a list of a dozen commodities (εἶδον) loaded onto a ship: wines, oils and other foods, soap, jars, papyrus (a basketful) and a rug.

the military were not limited to consumable commodities but at times included other necessities, such as garments, transport, etc.⁶ Another possibility, then, may be that in *P.Yale* 137 εἰδῶν denotes foodstuffs and fodder, and γενῶν refers to everything else— or, as we might say, "provisions and sundries." Therefore, we should translate lines 2-3 as "(Itemized list,) by persons, of provisions and sundries being prepared to be sent to Syria."

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⁶ Items of military requisitions mentioned in documentary papyri include:

—for units or personnel stationed or traveling in Egypt: foodstuffs of all kinds (cereals, vegetables, meats, fish, oil), fodder, fuel, garments, blankets, rope, hides, land- and water-transport of men and materiel

—for shipment to units in other provinces: garments to Judaea and Cappadocia, camels and oxen to Syria.

Three Sales of Houses at Socnopaïou Nesos

The three texts published below (P.Fantoni inv. 2; *P.Ryl.* II 312 and 313¹) are contracts of sales of houses (and yards), drawn up in the standard form of *homologia* and registered in the *grapheion* at Socnopaïou Nesos. They have the following structure:

1. Date and place.

2. The body of the contract in the form of a *homologia*. It follows the arrangement frequently attested for sales during the Roman period: ὁμολογεῖ Α τῷ Β πεπρακέναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὁμολογίαν—description of the property—καὶ ἀπέχειν τὴν συμπεφωνημένην τιμὴν --- πᾶσαν ἐκ πλήρους παραχρῆμα διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου --- καὶ βεβαιώσειν ---².

3. Subscription of both parties.

4. Notice of registration.

The most recent list of sales of houses can be found in *P.Louvre* I 9-10, introd., pp. 62-7. In Socnopaïou Nesos during Domitian's reign we know of the following sales of houses:

a. Property return

P.Ryl. II 107, 3/4 of a house is declared. This part was bought for 200 dr.

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Georgina Fantoni, who very kindly offered me the papyrus which belongs to her private collection for publication. *P.Ryl.* II 312 and 313 are reproduced by courtesy of the Director and University Librarian, the John Rylands University Library of Manchester; Dr. P. McNiven, who confirmed that there are no markings of any kind on the versos of 312 and 313; Prof. D. Hagedorn and Dr. A. Jördens for their notes on some textual difficulties; Prof. K.A. Worp for kindly sending me his own transcription of *P.Ryl.* II 312 and 313 and for his remarks on an earlier draft of this article; Prof. R. Pintaudi for checking some readings on *PSI* XIII 1320 and *P.Flor.* III 302, sending me photos of these papyri and giving me the permission to reproduce them here.

² See F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale* (Weimer 1950) 109.

b. Homologiae

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Fraction</i>	<i>Seller</i>	<i>Buyer</i>	<i>Price</i>
<i>P.Ryl. II</i> 161	8/3/81 A.D.	1/4	Thases, daughter of Panephrimmis, granddaughter of Panephrimmis	Stotoetis, son of Satabous, grandson of Erieus	[18dr. (58, 68, 78, 88 or 98 dr.)
<i>BGU XI</i> 2095	26/1 - 24/2, 83 A.D.	1/2	Tesenouphis and Stotoetis, both children of Tesenouphis, grandchildren of Onnophris	Apynchis, son of Tesenouphis, grandson of Tesenouphis	160 dr.
<i>P.Fantoni</i> inv. 2 (= 2)	10/2/90 A.D.	1/4	Stotoetis, son of Tesenouphis, grandson of Panephrimmis	Tapiamis, daughter of Onnophris, granddaughter of Tesenouphis	200 dr.
<i>PSI XIII</i> 1320	17(18)/9/ (year lost)	1/2	Tabous, daughter of Panephrimmis, granddaughter of Panephrimmis	Panomieus, son of Pisais, grandson of Satabous	160 dr.
<i>P.Ryl. II</i> 312 (= 312)	25/7 - 23/8/ (year lost; see 312, note to l.1)	2/15	Tesenouphis, daughter of Panephrimmis, granddaughter of Paneis	Panephrimmis, son of Pisais, grandson of Panephrimmis	100 dr.
<i>P.Ryl. II</i> 313 (= 313)	27(28)/12 - 25(26)/1/ (year lost; see 312, note to l.1)	1/6 (or 1/10)	Papeis and Takosis	Panephrimmis, son of Panephrimmis, grandson of Panephrimmis	32 dr.

Resemblances among documents of this type are common, but in the present papyri their similarity goes far beyond the ordinary. Not only are the principal hands of the three papyri published here well practiced, semi-cursive and resembling the hand of *P.Ryl. II* 161 dated 6 March 81 A.D. (see *P.Ryl. II* 312 and 313 descr.), but all have the same format, including some individual phraseology and similar morphological or phonological mistakes. *P.Fantoni* 2 is dated in A.D. 90, almost nine years after *P.Ryl. II* 161, and it is difficult to believe that it was the same hand which produced all of the documents. Therefore, it should be assumed that only some of these documents were written by the same person (especially *PSI XIII* 1320 and *P.Fantoni* 2) or that they were drawn up based on a cer-

tain original document by the scribes who worked at the village of Socnopaiou Nesos.

P.Fantoni inv. 2

21.8 x 25.1 cm

10/2/90 A.D.

Plate 7

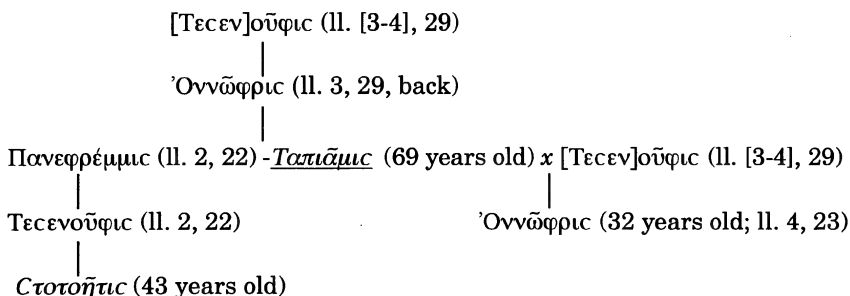
Socnopaiou Nesos

A papyrus fragment (assembled from eleven smaller strips) written on the —> side. The surviving top margin measures ca. 2.3 cm, the bottom margin ca. 3.2 cm and the left margin ca. 2.5 cm. The papyrus is broken at the folds. The width of the written area could be calculated to be ca. 95-105 letters for lines 1-21 and ca. 80-5 letters for lines 22-31. A line in each strip contains c. 10 letters. At the right of lines 1-18 ca. 17-23 letters have disappeared, so we can assume that what is lost consisted of two or three more vertical strips of papyrus, and that the sheet was folded 9-10 times from right to left. On the back (just behind the left margin of the front) the first hand, in a less cursive handwriting, wrote the content of the papyrus after it was folded vertically from the right to the left and then horizontally in the middle (ca. 12.5 cm from the top and bottom of the papyrus). The same hand wrote the name of the buyer (in the dative), the kind of document, i.e. a sale (in the nominative) and the object of the sale (in the accusative). Syntactically it is difficult to construe the text there. On both sides of the horizontal fold (ca. 2.5 cm to the left and the right) the scribe drew a *chi*, a kind of design. The purpose of such designs has been explained in terms of preventing unauthorized opening of documents; see *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3396.32n. It is interesting to note that the writer forms some *rho*'s with long strokes descending to the line below, e.g. line 7 *κυκλόντα*; line 8 *ἐπικραῖται*; cf. also the large, almost square *omicron* made in two movements throughout (especially at the beginning of words). It seems that the same scribe wrote the present papyrus and *PSI XIII 1320*, since many letters in both documents resemble each other; for instance in *ἐπικραῖται* (see line 8n.). Even the format of both documents and the way they were folded and finally preserved are the same. The hand of Soterichos, who signed on behalf of the seller, is a little larger than the hand of the main

text. It is also more regular than the hand of the second *hypographeus*; the latter could be regarded as larger and thicker as well.

The text is a contract of sale through which Stotoetis, son of Tesenouphis and grandson of Panephremmis, conveys the fourth of a house and the yard to his grandfather's sister, Tapiamis, daughter of Onnophris, granddaughter of Tesenouphis. The price paid is 200 drachmae, and the transaction is completely guaranteed by Stotoetis. The contract is a standard form of *homologia*, drawn up and registered in the *grapheion* at Socnopaïou Nesos. It has the following structure: Date and place (lines 1-2). The body of the contract in the form of a *homologia* (lines 2-21). Subscription of both parties (lines 22-31) [a. Subscription of Stotoetis (lines 21-8)]. b. Subscription of Tapiamis (line 28-31)]. Notice of registration (line 31).

Based on the details given in our text Stotoetis' family tree is the following:



- (m.1) [Ἐ]τους ἐνά[του Α]ὕτοκράτορ[ος Καί]σαρος Δομει[τ]ιαν[ου] Σεβαστοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ [μ]ηνὸς Ξαν[δι]κοῦ ἑκκα[ιδεκάτη] Μεχέρ ις']
 ἐν τῇ Κοκ[νοπαίου] Νήσου τῆς [Ἡρα]κλείδου μερίδ[ος] τοῦ Ἀρσινότου νομοῦ.
 Ὁ[μολογ]εῖ Στοτ[οῆτι]ς Τεσε[νούφ]εως Πανεφρίμμος
 [ὥς] ἐτῶν τεσσαράκ[οντα] τριῶν οὐ[λ]ή γαστροκνημ[ί]α ἀριστερᾷ τῇ τοῦ
 πάπ[π]ου αὐ[τοῦ] ἀδελφ[ῆ] Τατιάμι 'Ο[ννώφ]ριος Τεσενού[ς]-
 4 [φε]ως ὥς ἐτῶν [ἑξή]κοντα ἐννέα ο[ὐ]λή] ἀντικνημ[ί]ωι δεξιῶι μετὰ κυρίου τ[οῦ]
 ἑατῆς υἱοῦ Ὀν[νώφ]ρε[ω]ς Τεσενούφ[εω]ς ὥς ἐτῶν
 [τρ]ιάκοντα δύο ο[ὐ]λή μ[ε]τόπωι πεπ[ρακ]έναι αὐτῇ τ[ὸ]ν ὁμολογο[ῦ]ντα κατὰ
 τῇ γδε τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας
 [εἰς] τὸν ἅπαντα χ[ρό]νον τὸ ὑπάρχ[ον] αὐτῶι Στοτ[οῆ]τι τέταρτον μέρος
 οἰκ[ία]ς διτγέου κ[αί] αὐλῆς ἐκ [τοῦ] πρὸς λίβα μέρους κοινόν]
 [καί] ἀδιαίρετον [καί] τὰ συνκύροντα [πάν]τα ἐν τῇ π[ρο]γεγραμμένῃ κώμῃ

απ. [διὰ τὸ μ]ῆ εἰδέναι [α]ὐτοῦς γράμ[μ]ατα. (m.4) Ἐντέ[τακται διὰ τοῦ ἐν
τῇ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσῳ γραφείου]

back (m.1) Ταπιάμι Ὀννό(φριος), πρᾶσι(ς), τέταρτον μέρος(ς) οἰκίας
καὶ αὐλῆς

1 Δομιτ[ιαν]οῦ 2 Νήσῳ 4 ἑαυτῆς 5 μ]ετώπωι 7 συγκύροντα; Νήσῳ
8 ἐπικρατεῖ 9 τοῦ 10 ἐπικρατεῖ 11 πᾶσαν 13 -β[αι]ώσει; χρόνων
14 εἰς[ο]γισμ[οῦ; ἐμποιή[σεως; see comm. 15 ἀνοικο]δο[μοῦντ]ας ἐπ[τελ]οῦντας
καὶ ἐπισκευάζο[ντας 22 ὁμολογῶ 23 ὁμ]ολογίαν 25 γείτονε[ς 26 ῥύμη
β[ασι]λική; κ is corrected from γ and η from another letter 28 πρό]κειται
29 υἱοῦ

(1st hand) The ninth year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, the sixteenth of the month Xandicus, [Mecheir 16], in Socnopaïou Nesos of the division of Heracleides of the Arsinoite nome. Stotoetis, son of Tesenouphis, son of Panephrimmis, aged about forty-three years, with a scar on the left shin, acknowledges to his grandfather's sister Tapiamis, daughter of Onnophris, son of Tesenouphis, aged about sixty-nine years, with scar on her right shin, with her her son Onnophris as her guardian, [son of Tesenouphis, aged about] thirty-two years, with a scar on the forehead, that he, the acknowledging party, has sold to her in accordance with this agreement from the present day forever the fourth part, belonging to him, Stotoetis, of a two-storied house and yard on the [western(?) side, common and] undivided, and all appurtenances in the above-mentioned village of Socnopaïou Nesos, the boundaries of the whole house and yard being, on the south [- - -] exit of some (plots?), on the north the [- - -] formerly owned by Teses, son of Nesthnephis, and held (now) by his children, on the west a royal street, on the east some bare spaces and the house and the yard of Tanephrimmis, daughter of Pasis and the [- - -], formerly owned by [NN, son of NN], and (now) by his children, and that the acknowledging party, Stotoetis, has received in full forthwith from hand to hand out of the house from Tapiamis the price agreed upon, two hundred silver drachmae, for the fourth part of the house and yard, which have been bought, and that the acknowledging party, Stotoetis, and his assigns will entirely guarantee Tapiamis and her assigns from all charges both public and private and from poll-tax from former times until the next registered description of individu-

als for purposes of census, from public and private charges and every claim for all time, (Tapiamis having control over) both entering and exiting, building up and disposing and repairing, and that the acknowledging party, Stotoetis and his assigns shall make no claim or dispute or attack in any way, transgressing none of the aforesaid provisions. If he does not guarantee or does not deliver the property, he shall pay double the damages and the expenses and a fine of one hundred drachmae and [- - - . The subscriber of the acknowledging party, Stotoetis, is Soterichos, son of NN, son of NN, aged about x years, with a scar on x, and] the subscriber of Tapiamis [and her guardian is NN, son of NN, son of NN, aged about x years], with scar on the forehead.

(2nd hand) I, Stotoetis, son of Tesenouphis, son of Panephrimmi acknowledge that I have sold [to Tapiamis, with as guardian her son] Onnophris, son of Tesenouphis, in accordance with the agreement from [now forever the fourth part, belonging to] me, of a two-storied house and yard on the [western(?) side, and all appurtenances] in the above-mentioned village of Socnopaiou Nesos, the boundaries being, [on the south common exit of some (plots?), on the north the house formerly owned by Teseis, son of] Nesthnephis, [on the west] a royal street, on the east [the house and the yard of] Tanephrimmi, [daughter of Pasis, and the house and yard, formerly owned by NN, and] that I have received the price, 200 silver drachmae, [in full, and I will] entirely guarantee, as stated above. I, Soterichos, [son of NN, son of NN, have written on his behalf, as he does not know letters. (3rd hand) I, Tapiamis], daughter of Onnophris, son of Tesenouphis with my guardian my son [Onnophris have bought the aforesaid fourth part of a house and yard, as stated above. I, NN, son of NN, have written on her behalf and on her guardian's behalf, as they do not know letters. (4th hand) Docketed through the record-office in Socnopaiou Nesos.

Back: For Tapiamis, daughter of Onnophris, buying the fourth part of a house and yard.

1 Δομεῖτ[ιαν]οῦ: or Δομεῖτ[ιαν]οῦ? (K.A. Worp).

[μ]ηνὸς Ξαν[δι]κοῦ ἑκκα[ιδεκάτη Μεχ]εῖρ ις': See U. Hagedorn, "Beobachtung zum Gebrauch makedonischer Monatsnamen in

römischer Zeit," *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrology* (London 1975) 127-32; *ZPE* 23 (1976) 143-67.

2 ἐν τῇ Κοκ[νοπαίου] Νήσου: see F. Mitthof, "ἐν τῇ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσῳ. Zur Bezeichnung des Errichtungs- bzw. Registrierungsortes in den Notariatsurkunden aus Soknopaiu Neos," *ZPE* 133 (2000) 193-6. For the village see A. Leone, *Soknopaiou nesos nel periodo ellenistico-romano* (Naples 1995).

Τερε[νούφεω: The name Tesenouphis is attested in many Arsinoite documents; cf. *Demotisches Namenbuch*, p. 1308.

3 [ὦ]ς ἐτῶν: See V.B. Schuman, "The Origin of the Expression ὦς ἐτῶν in the Papyri," *CW* 28 (1934-1935) 95 ff.

Ταπαμί: See *Demotisches Namenbuch*, p. 1177, "the Fayyumic woman". After μ, the upper part of an ι; cf. Τανεφριμμιοc, in line 9; then the beginning of an omicron written large, Ὀ[ννώφριοc.

4 τ[οῦ] ἐατῆc: For the form of the first τ cf. τὸ ὑπάρχον in line 6. For the form of the large-shaped ε cf. ἐν τῇ in line 7. For the diphthong αυ frequently written simply as α see Gignac, *Grammar* I, 226-7.

[Ὀν]νώφρε[ω]ς [Τερενούφεω: The grandfather's name is not mentioned in the subscription (line 23).

6 οἰκ[ία]ς διςτέγου κ[αί] αὐλῆc: For the two-storied house see G. Husson, *OIKIA* 260-1, and for yards see *ibid.* 45-54.

πρὸς λίβα: The lost part of the papyrus should have contained about 20 letters. λίβα alone (four letters) would fit better; alternatively βορρᾶ. The phrase is also lost in line 24.

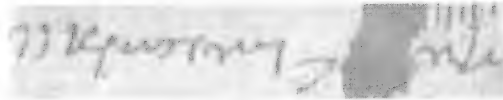
8 [.] ἐξόδου τινῶν: The remaining traces before the lacuna leave no doubt about the reading. It could be either ιc[(proposed by K.A. Worp), then read ιc[όδου] ἐξόδου τινῶν which sounds unfamiliar without the conjunction καί. A reference, however to both entrance and exit is needed, which is the usual practice; cf. *P.Lond.* II 140.9, [βορρᾶ τῶν αὐτῶ]ν οἰκία καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρος κοινὴ εἰσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος; see R. Taubenschlag, "Das Recht auf εἰσοδος und ἔξοδος in den Papyri," *Opera Minora* (Warsaw 19549) II 405-417 and *id.*, *The Law of Greek Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (Warsaw 1955²), 243, 256-9. For the entrance and exit see G. Husson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) 65-72. Or read the letter κ, formed like the kappa's in ἐπικρατῖται (lines 8 and 10) and propose κ[οινῆc, a phrase that is also unfamiliar. In the subscription, where the boundaries are re-

peated (line 25), this part of the text is lost. The genitive after νότου, where a nominative is expected is noteworthy; cf. however, line 9 below, ἀπηλιώ[τ]ου τινῶν τόπ[ω]ν ψιλῶν καὶ [Τα]νε-φρίμμιος τῆς Πάσει[το]ς οἰκία καὶ αὐλή.

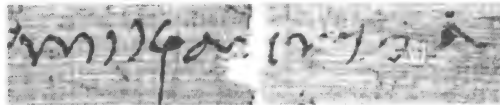
Τεσείους: See *Demotisches Namenbuch*, pp. 1209-11.

Νεσθνή[φεω]ς. This name (written also Νεσθνήφω) is mainly an Arsinoite one; see *Demotisches Namenbuch*, p. 653.

ἐπικρατῖται τὰ τέκνα. In *PSI XIII 1320.8*, ὧν ἐπικρατῖ τούτ[ου] τέκνα οἰκία the ending of the verb is formed in just the same way as in the present papyrus (checked on the original by P. Pintaudi); cf. photo.

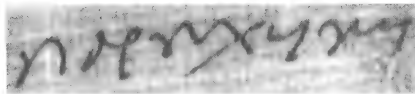


PSI XIII 1320



P. Fantoni inv. 2

Therefore the text in *PSI XIII 1320* runs ὧν ἐπικρατῖται τ[ὰ] τέκνα οἰκία. The ending of the verb in -ται in the present papyrus visually resembles παρέχεται in *PSI XIII 1320.15*:



This points to the fact that the same scribe wrote both documents. A possible reading ἐπικραντεῖ (assuming the insertion of the nasal; see Gignac, *Grammar I*, 118) is less likely because of the evidence of *PSI XIII 1320*.

Then, in the lacuna, we can restore either ὧν ἐπικρατῖται τὰ τέκνα οἰκία, λιβὸς ρύμη] or ὧν ἐπικρατῖται τὰ τέκνα τόποι, λιβὸς

ρύμη]; and the same applies in line 10, ὧν ἐπικρατ[ῖτα]ι τὰ τέκνα [οἰ]κ[ί]α or [τό]ποι (τόποι proposed by K.A. Worp).

9 τόπ[ω]ν ψιλῶν: See R. Rossi, "Ψιλοὶ τόποι," *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 42-56.

10 ἐπικρατ[ῖτα]ι τὰ τέκνα [. . .] : See above, n. 8.

11 πᾶν: The neuter instead of the feminine is also found in *P.Ryl.* II 161.12 and *PSI* XIII 1320.10. Cf. also 312.12 and 313.12 with line notes. All these documents were drawn up at Socnopaiou Nesos. Since the hand of all them is similar, we could understand this phrasing as the practice of a certain scribe or *grapheion*. Cf. also *M.Chr.* 159.15, τιμὴν ἅπαν (Heracleia; 51-3 A.D.).

12-14 πάσῃ βε[β]αι[αι]ώσιν ἄ[π]ο μὲν δημ[ο]σιῶν καὶ ιδιωτικῶν πάντ[ω]ν καὶ λαογραφίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐ[μ]προσθεν χρόνον μέχ[ρ]ι τοῦ ἐσομένου ἑτέρου | ἐκ[ο]νισμ[οῦ] ἀπογραφῆς δη[μ]οσίου] τ[ε] κ[αὶ] ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ πάσῃς ἐνποιή[σεως] ἐπὶ τ[ὸν] ἅπ[α]ντα χρόν[ον]: After βεβαιώσιν (read βεβαιώσει) the scribe has omitted some adjectives, e.g. ἀνέπαφον, ἀνενεχύραστον, ἀνεπιδάνειστον, καθαρὸν, from which the following prepositional phrase ἀπὸ μὲν is construed; cf. *BGU* XV 2478.9-10 (Socnopaiou Nesos; 81-96 A.D.), πάσῃ βεβαιώσει καὶ παρέξεσθαι αὐτὸ ἀνέπαφον] | [καὶ καθαρὸν ἀ]πὸ παντὸς [ὀ]φ[ε]ιλ[ή]ματος δη[μ]οσίου etc.; *CPR* I 187.10-1 (Arsinoite nome; I-II A.D.), [ἀνέπα]φον κ α ι ἀνενεχύραστον καὶ ἀνεπιδάνειστον καὶ καθα[ρὸν ---] | ἀπὸ τε δε λαογραφιῶν μέχρι ἑτέρας κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογρ[αφῆς] etc.; see A. Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden* (Leipzig and Berlin 1911) 127. In *BGU* I 350.9-10 (Socnopaiou Nesos; 98-117 A.D.; cf. *BL* I, 40), πάσῃ βεβαιώσι ἀπὸ τε δημοσίων καὶ εἰδιωτικῶν πάντων, ἀπὸ μὲν λαογραφιῶν πασῶν ἀπὸ τῶν | [ἐν αὐτῷ φανησομένων ἀπογεγράφθαι ἔ]ως ἑτέρου ἰκονισμοῦ κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆς, ἀπὸ δὲ τε ιδιωτικῶν καὶ πάσῃς ἐνποιήσεως ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπανταχρόνον we should better supplement the lacuna in the beginning of line 10 as [ἐμπροσθεν χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ ἐσομένου] ἑτέρου etc. In that case this *BGU* text is the closest parallel to the present papyrus with respect to the form of the clause. Based on *BGU* I 350, δη[μ]οσίου] τ[ε] in the present papyrus is superfluous; cf. *P.Vind.Tand.* 26.11-2n., where the editors mentioning *P.Ryl.* II 161.14-6 note that this phrase "scheinbar überflüssigerweise wiederholt wird." Based on *SB* X 10571.15-7 ἀπὸ παντὸς ὀφειλήματος δημο[σίου] μὲν ἀπὸ τ[ῶ]ν ἐμπροσθε χρόνων μέχρι ἑτέρας εἰκονισμοῦ

ἀπογραφῆς ἀπὸ δὲ ἰδ[ιωτικῶν καὶ πά]σης ἐμποιῆς[εως] ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, the καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν in the first part of the clause seems superfluous.

13 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐ[μ]προσθεν χρόνον (read χρόνων): The same (either phonological or morphological) mistake is commonly found in the papyri, although the article is written correctly; cf. *P.Ryl.* II 161.15; 174A.19-20; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 21.17; *P.Vind.Worp* 16B.10-1; *SB* X 10539. 20-1. In 312.14 and 313.15 the scribe wrote χρόνον, but the article in both cases is lost. In *PSI* XIII 1320.12 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμ]προσθεν χρόν[ω]ν probably the scribe also wrote χρόν[ο]ν, if we accept that the same person wrote both documents.

13-14 μέχ[ρι] τοῦ ἐσομένου ἑτέρου] | ἰκ[ο]νισμ[οῦ] ἀπογραφῆς]: Cf. also 312.14 μέχρι τοῦ ἐσομένου ἑτέρου ἰκονισμοῦ [ἀπογρ]αφῆς]; 313.15-6, μέχρι τοῦ ἐ[κ]ομένου ἑτέρου εἰκονισμοῦ ἀπογρ[α]φῆς *P.Ryl.* II 161.15, μέχρι τοῦ ἐσομένου ἑτέρου ἰκονισμοῦ ἀπογραφῆς; *PSI* XIII 1320.12. μέχρι τοῦ ἐσομένου ἑτέρου ἰκονισμοῦ ἀπογραφῆς. The use of the same phraseology points to the same scribe or *grapheion*; cf. other parallels in *BGU* I 350.10 (103-115 A.D.; Nilopolis), ἕως ἑτέρου ἰκονισμοῦ κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆς; *P.Lond.* III 1179.108, p. 147, (146-147 A.D.; Arsinoite nome), μέχ[ρι] τῆς ἐσομένης εἰκονισμοῦ ἀπογραφῆς]; *SB* XVI 12288.26 (178 A.D.; Ptolemais Euergetis), μέχρει ἑτέρας εἰκονισμοῦ ἀπογρ(αφῆς); *SB* X 10571.16 (194 A.D.; Ptolemais Euergetis), μέχρι ἑτέρας εἰκονισμοῦ ἀπογραφῆς; *BGU* VII 1643.13 (II A.D.; Philadelphia), [μέχρι ἑτέρου εἰκονισμοῦ] [ἀ]πογραφῆς, [ἀπ]ὸ δὲ [ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ] πάσης ἐμποι[ή]σεως ἐπὶ τὸν [ἅπα]ντα χρόνον, μέχ[ρι] ἑτέρας εἰκονισμοῦ ἀπογρ]αφῆς. All the examples come from the Arsinoite nome and are found in documents of the second century A.D. However, judging from other examples mentioning this clause as ἀπογραφὴ εἰκονισμοῦ, cf. *CPR* I 223.19 (117-137 A.D.; Ptolemais Euergetis), μέχρι [ἑτέρας ἀπογραφῆς εἰκονισμοῦ]; *CPR* I 206.12 (138-161 A.D.; Ptolemais Euergetis), μέχρι ἑτέρας ἀπογραφῆς εἰκον[ο]ισμοῦ; *BGU* I 95.v.1 (147 A.D.; Karanis), ἀπογραφὰ εἰκονισ(μοῦ) ἐμ[ο]ῦ Δείου; *P.Hamb.* I 15,12 (209 A.D.; Ptolemais Euergetis), μέχρι ἑτέρας ἀπογραφῆς εἰκονισμοῦ), there is *hypallage*, i.e. the grammatical relation between the two adjectives (ἐσόμενος, ἕτερος) and the two nouns (ἀπογραφὴ, εἰκονισμός) is reversed. See P. Meyer, "Aus ägyptischen Urkunden," *Philologus* 56 (1897) 197-9 and *BGU*

VII 1643.12n: "ἀπογραφῆς Genetiv des Inhalts zu εἰκονισμός. Vielleicht hat man die Formel ohne genaueres Verständnis gebraucht "

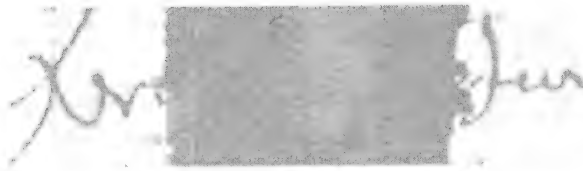
14-15 ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπ[α]ντα χρόν[ον καὶ εἰσόδ[οι]ς καὶ ἐξ[όδοις]: Comparison with the other parallels (*PSI* XIII 1320.13; *P.Ryl.* II 161.16; 312.16; 313.16) makes this the most probable supplement. At the end of line 14 there is room for ca. 15-7 letters, but I have supplied only 8. The datives εἰσόδ[οι]ς καὶ ἐξ[όδοις] are difficult to construe in this passage. In other examples we find the participles εἰσοδεύοντας κ(αὶ) ἐξοδεύοντας instead of the nouns εἰσόδ[οι]ς καὶ ἐξ[όδοις], and together with the other participles concerning the status of the house, all depend on the participle κωλύοντα(ς): e.g. *P.Hamb.* III 218.7-8 (Oxy.; 29-30 A.D.), καὶ παρέξεται Θέ[ω]ν μηθένα κωλύοντα Ἡράκλειον μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ κυριεύοντας αὐτῶν | [καὶ εἰσοδεύοντας εἰς αὐτὰ καὶ ἐξοδεύοντας καὶ καθ[α]ιροῦντας καὶ ἀνοικοδομοῦντας etc. (see note *ad loc.*); *P.Lond.* II 154.15 (Karanis; 68 A.D.), μηδὲ κωλύοντα --- κυριεύοντα[ς αὐτῶν] κ(αὶ) εἰσοδεύοντας κ(αὶ) ἐξοδεύοντας κ(αὶ) κατασπῶντας κ(αὶ) ἀνοικοδομοῦντας etc.; *P.Mich.* X 583.16-9 (Bacchias; 78 A.D.), μηδὲ κωλύοντας τὸν πριάμενον Ἑρμᾶν μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' μεταληψομένους κυριεύον[τας καὶ δεσ] | [πό]ζοντας ὧν ἐώνηται καθὼς π[ρ]όκειται καὶ εἰσοδεύοντας καὶ ἐξοδεύοντας καὶ κατασπῶντας καὶ ἀ[νοικοδο] | [μο]ῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς etc. So we can assume that what was meant here is μηθένα κωλύοντα Τατιάμιν καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς εἰσόδοις καὶ ἐξόδοις. However, I cannot suggest an additional 9-10 letters that would suit the space at the end of line 14. Or did the scribe leave a gap or make a kind of correction? Or did he use an unfamiliar phrase, e.g. [(cὺν) τοῖς ἀνηκουσί εἰσό-]δ[οι]ς etc. (suggested by K.A. Worp)?

This means that the case of the following three participles καὶ ἀνοικοδό[μο]ν[τε]ς καὶ ἐπι[τελ]οῦν[τε]ς καὶ ἐπισκευάζο[ν]τες are a mistake of the scribe instead of the expected accusative depending (as is κυριεύοντας, as well) on the participle κωλύοντα.

εἰσό[]δ[οι]ς: Probably spelled as εἰσό[]δ[οι]ς; cf. *ικ[ο]νισμ[οῦ]*, line 14.

16 ἐγκαλεῖ[ν] μηδὲ ἀ[μφικ]βητήκειν [μη]δὲ ἐπε[λ]εύεσθαι: For the clause see *P.Vind.Tand.* 26.16n. The ending may be read as ἀ[μφικ]βητήκειν or ἀ[μφικ]βητήειν.

16-17 [μη]δὲ ἐπε[λ]εύσεσθαι τρόπῳ [μηδενί. "Ὅ,τι δ' ἂν] τῶν προγε[γραμμένων παρασυνγραφῶν, | ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βεβαιοῖ ἢ καὶ μὴ παρέχεται παρα]χρήμα [π]ροσαιοῦσάτω: The lacunae were restored based on *P.Ryl.* II 161.18 (there. instead of μη[δ]ὲν τῶν προγεγραμμένων, read [δ,]τ[ι δ'] ἂν τῶν προγεγραμμένων; checked on photo) and *PSI XIII* 1320.11-2 (checked on the original by R. Pintaudi); cf. also the photo of the latter, where, however, the first and second vertical strips of papyrus have to be placed further apart than they are at present:



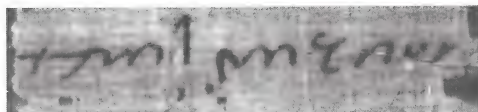
However, the problem is how to construe these sentences. Both the editors of *P.Ryl.* II 161 and *PSI XIII* 1320 put a stop after the participle παρασυνγραφῶν. Certainly ὅ,τι δ' ἂν could not be an object of the infinitive ἐπελεύσεσθαι, because the verb ἐπέρχεσθαι governs the dative or prepositional accusative; see *LSJ* s.v. I1d. Other editors put the stop after τρόπῳ [μηδενί, construing it as if followed by a conditional sentence ὅ,τι δ' ἂν τῶν προγεγραμμένων παρασυνγραφῇ (or -φῇ), ἀποτεισάτω etc.: *BGU* III 987.15; *CPR* I 11.28; *P.Aberd.* 53.fr. 2.11; *P.Bas.* 3.5; *P.Stras.* VI 583.12; *SB XVIII* 13764.24; *SPP* XX 50.20. In *P.Lond.* II 140.23-5, μηδὲ διαμφισβη[τεῖν τρόπῳ μηδενί.] | [ἐὰν - - - τῶν προγεγραμμέ]νων παρασυνγραφῇ [ὁ ὁμολογῶν, ἐκ][τίκει suggests that we should preferably read in the beginning of lines 24-5, [ὅ,τι δ' ἂν τῶν προγεγραμμέ]νων παρασυνγραφῇ [ὁ ὁμολογῶν, ἀπο] | [τίσάτω In *BGU* I 350.15-6, [μηδὲ διαμφισβητήσιν τρόπῳ μηδενί. ὅ]τι (ὅ,τι should be read) δ' αὐτῶν προγεγραμμένων, (here a comma should be added) παρασυνγραφῇ (read παρασυνγραφῇ) ὁ ὁμολογῶν ἢ <ὁ> ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προσαιοῦσάτωι etc., we should rather read [μηδὲ διαμφισβητήσιν τρόπῳ μηδενί. ὅ]τι δ' ἂν τῶν προγεγραμμένων. In *CPR* I 220.6-10, παρεξάσθωσαν τὸ σ[. . .]λων ἀνέπαφον καὶ ἀνενεχύ[ρας] | τον καὶ ἀνεπιδάνειστον καὶ ἀνεξαλλοτρίωτον [κ]αὶ καθαρὸν ἀπ' ὀφειλῆς ὑ[πο]θήκης [πά]χη(c) καὶ παντὸς διεγγήματος δημοσίου ἢ ιδιωτικοῦ [δ]ταν

τῶν προγεγραμμένων [παρα] | συνγραφῇ ([παρα]συνγραφῇ Pap.) <ό> ὁμολογῶν ἢ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ προκαποτ[ι]άτωσαν etc, we should read δημοσίου ἢ ιδιωτικοῦ. [ὅ,τι] δ' ἂν τῶν προγεγραμμένων. In all these latter examples the conditional ὅ,τι δ' ἂν τῶν προγεγραμμένων παρασυνγραφῇ is followed by the penalty clause, προκαποτειτάτω etc. In the papyri, however, published here, in *P.Ryl.* II 161 and *PSI* XIII 1320, two more conditional clauses follow, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βεβαιοῖ ἢ καὶ μὴ παρέχεται. In *P.Ryl.* II 161.19 instead of μὴ βεβαιώσῃ μηδὲ παρ[έ]χεται read μὴ βεβαιοῖ ἢ καὶ μὴ παρ[έ]χεται; the first letter after the lacuna is an ε, not a c, as a check of the photo reveals. The object both of the verbs and the participle is ὅ,τι. That seems to be a practice of the office in Socnopaiou Nesos, which accumulated in our text clauses attested in many kinds of documents.

I have supplied παρασυγγραφῶν based on the parallels, but the right form should have been παρασυγγραφοῦντα (if we consider only τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα as the subject) or παρασυγγραφοῦντας (if we consider τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ as the subject). Regarding the number (singular or plural), the same applies to the verbs βεβαιοῖ and παρέχεται. Certainly παρασυγγραφῶν seems to be long for the remaining space, which should be filled (based on the other lines) by 16-8 letters. Here the total is 22 letters and that it is a problem. If we restore other words which have parallels in other documents, e.g. παραβῇ or παραβαίνων, (proposed by K.A. Worp), then this does not agree with the evidence provided by *PSI* XIII 1320.15 where]φων is certain. Therefore, I assume that very cursive and compressed writing was employed here.

17-18 [π]ροκαποτιτάτω ἢν τε [εἰληφεν τιμὴ]ν διπλῆν [τά τε βλάβη καὶ τὰ] | δαπανήματα διπλᾶ καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀργυ]ρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ . . . [: For the penalty clauses see A. Berger, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12-14) 2, 4, 26-38, 128-36. In *P.Ryl.* II 162.31-2 instead of προκαποτιτάτωσαν ἢν [ἐσχον] | τιμὴν δι[πλ]ῆν read προκαποτιτάτωσαν ἢν [εἰληφεν] | τιμὴν δι[πλ]ῆν.

18 καὶ . . . [c. 10 letters υτου]γεγ[ι: After καὶ all the parallels read εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἱσάς, i.e. 21 letters which cannot be identified with the letters after the lacuna. The traces after]υτου (read α]υτοῦ?), could be also read as γυν[ι. In *PSI* XIII 1320.16 the reading .[- - -] . . . cὺν ὑπογραφῇ is suspect, since it finds no parallel. After checking the photo (original checked by R. Pintaudi),



I propose that we read there κ[αὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιο]ν τὰς ἱσας. Ὑπογραφεῖς τῆς ὁμολογούσης etc.

19 προγεγραμμένων. ὑπογραφεῖς τοῦ μέν: Cf. *CPR* I 187.16 τῶν προγεγρ(αμμένων) ὑπογρ(αφεῖς) τοῦ μέν Ἀμμωνίου Χαιρήμωνος, where a full stop should be added after προγεγρ(αμμένων). In the lacuna before, probably a phrase like in *P.Oxy.* II 272.26 (66 A.D.), μενόντων κυρίων τῶν προγεγραμμένων πάντων or in *P.Tebt.* II 393.25-6 (150 A.D.), κυρίων [μενόν] [των τῶν προγεγραμμένω]ν.

22 [ὁμο]λογῶι: For the erroneous addition of -ι to simple ω in final position, especially during the first and second centuries A.D., see Gignac, *Grammar* I, 185; cf. also below, line 26, ρύμη β[ασι]λικήι.

πεπ[ρακέναι: The first π has two left hastas.

24 συγκύροντα: probably spelled συνκύροντα.

27 ἐξε[: a false form of ἐξό[δου? Or ἐξ ε[?

32 The syntax should have been τετάρτου μέρος(ς), but I consider that every detail (for Tapiamis daughter of Onnophris / sale / the fourth part of a house and yard) is standing by itself without syntactical structure between them.

P.Ryl. II 312

26.3 x 26.4 cm

25 Jul. - 23 Aug., 82-96 A.D.

Plate 8

Socnopaiou Nesos

Two pieces of papyrus, almost joined together in lines 3-7 to form one fragment, and written on the —> side. The surviving top margin measures ca. 3.2 cm and the bottom one ca. 2.7 cm. The back is blank. In estimating the number of letters lost on the left and right hand side of the text in lines 1-20 we have to be guided by the text of the subscription in lines 21-31. So, the width of the written area could be calculated to ca. 95-105 letters for lines 1-20, based on lines 13-14 (Παν]εφρίμμει --- ἐνπρο]ςθεν), 14-15 (ἐνπρο]ςθεν --- ἅπα]ντα) and 15-16 (ἅπα]ντα --- Τεσενο]υφιν),

where the restorations are almost certain. In the rest of the lines the restorations should be considered just only as plausible, but not secure. Lines 1-17 could have extended to the left before the break of the papyrus for about 20-5 letters and lines 1-14 to the right after the break for about 25-30 letters. For lines 21-31 we can calculate a length of ca. 83-93 letters.

Tesenouphis, daughter of Panephrimmi, son of Papeis, acknowledges to Panephrimmi, son of Panephrimmi, that she has sold to him 2/15 of a house and a yard in which there is an atrium. The price paid is 100 drachmae, and the transaction is completely guaranteed by the seller. The contract is a standard form of *homologia*, drawn up and registered in the *grapheion* at Socnopaiou Nesos. It has the following structure: Date and place (lines 1-2). The body of the contract in the form of a *homologia* (lines 2-20). Subscription of both parties (lines 21-30) [a. Subscription of Tesenouphis (lines 21-29). b. Subscription of Panephrimmi (lines 29-30)]. Notice of registration (line 31).

There are some variations (additions, omissions, transpositions of words) in the details mentioned in the main text and the subscription (see n. on lines 22-23, 23-24, 25-26), which means that the subscriber did not always take into account the exact details of the text above.

Based on the details given in our text the seller and buyer's families appear to be:

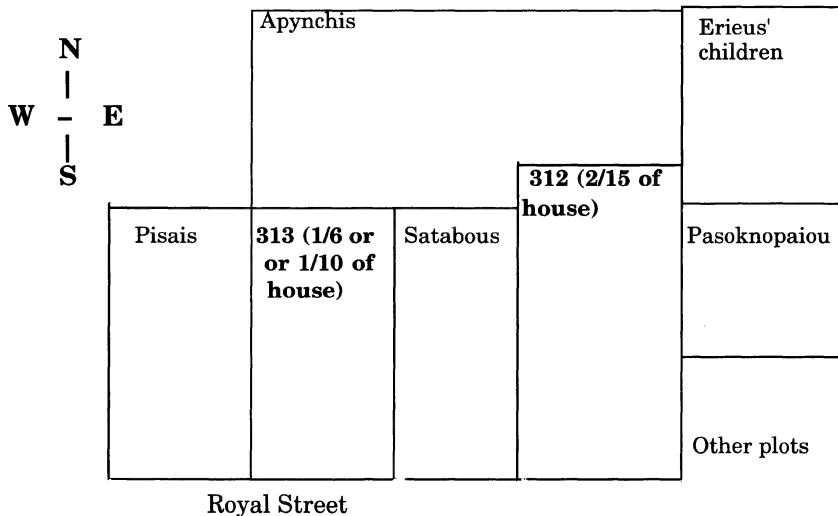
Seller		Buyer	
Πατεῦς I (ll. [3], 21)		Πανεφρίμμης I	
Πανεφρίμμης	(ll. [2], 21)	Πανεφρίμμης II	
Τεσενούφης - Ταβοῦς (ll. [4], 21) x Ἐριεῦς (ll. 4, 19, 21)		Πανεφρίμμης III	

The tabulation of the boundaries below shows that two properties, which were bought by the same person probably within a few months are involved in **312** and **313**. These two houses should have been very close to each other. They had the same boundary to the south, the royal street, and the same boundary, the house and the yard of Apynchis, son of Paopis, along a part of the north side. It is

tempting to restore (even though such a short restoration is questionable, because 3-4 more letters are needed) in the lacuna in **313.10-11** and 27 the name Πισά(ε)ιτος; in that case the house of Satabous, son of Pisais, could be located between the two houses bought in **312** and **313** by Panephrimmiis.

312 (cf. lines 8-11, 25-27)	313 (cf. lines 8-11, 25-27)
ν[ότου ρύμη βασιλική	νότο]ν ρύμη βασιλική
βορρά Ἀπύγχιος τοῦ Παώπιος καὶ τῶν μετ[όχων οἰκία παλαιὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρ[ο]ς τέκνων ερι[....]ν ριε ....[	βορρά Ἀπύγχιος τοῦ Παώπι[ο]ς καὶ τῶν μετόχων οἰκία καὶ αὐλή
λιβὸς Σεταβοῦτος τοῦ Πισάειτος οἰκία καὶ αὐλή καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρος Ἀπύγχιος τοῦ Παώπιος οἰκία	λιβὸς πρότερον Πισάειτος τοῦ Σιτοτήτιος νυνεὶ δὲ τῶν τέκνων οἰκία καὶ αὐλή
ἀπηλιώτου πρό[τερον Πασ]οκνοπαί[ου καὶ τῶν μετόχων οἰκία καὶ αὐλή καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρος ἐτέρω]ν τόποι	ἀπηλιώτου πρότ[ερ]ον Σαταβοῦτος τοῦ καὶ τῶν μετ[όχων οἰκία καὶ αὐλή

Schematic diagram of properties



- (m.1)[Έτους x Αυτόκράτ]ορος Καί[σα]ρος Δομειτ[ι]α]νοῦ Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ
 Γερμα]νικοῦ μηνὸς Καί[σα]ρειου x Μεσορῇ x]
 [ἐν τῇ Κοκνοπαίου Νή]ζου τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινό[ι]του νομοῦ.
 Ὁμολογεῖ Τεσενούφις Πανεφρίμιος]
 [τοῦ Παπεῖτος ὡς ἐτῶν . . . οντα ἐξ οὐλῇ ποδι δεξιῶι καὶ εὐσημον
 ὀφθαλμὸν δεξιὸν μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς]
 4 [αὐτῆς Ταβοῦτος ἀνδρὸς Ἐ]ρ[ι]εῦτος τ[ο]ῦ Παπ[ε]ῖτος ὡς ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα
 δύο οὐλῇ ἀντικνημῶι δεξιῶι Πανεφρίμει]
 [Πανεφρίμιος τοῦ Πανεφρίμι]ος ὡς ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα δύο [ο]ὐλῇ ἀντικνη-
 μῶι δε]ξιῶι π[ε]πρακέναι αὐτῷ τὴν ὁμολογοῦσαν]
 [κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα
 χρ[ό]νον τὸ ὑπάρχον αὐτῇ Τεσενούφει μητρικὸν]
 [δωδέκατον καὶ εἰκοστὸν μ]έρος οἰκίας δις τέγου καὶ αὐλῆς ἐν αἰ αἰθρίδιον
 κοινὸν καὶ ἀδια[ί]ρετον καὶ τὰ συγκύροντα]
 8 [πάντα ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ κώ]μῃ Κοκνοπαίου Νήσου ὧν γείτονες ὅλης τῆς
 οἰκίας] καὶ τῆς αὐλῆς ν[ό]του ῥύμη βασιλικῇ βορρᾷ]
 [Ἀπύγχιος τοῦ Παώπιος καὶ τῶν μετ' ὅχων οἰκία παλαιὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρ[ο]ς
 τέκνων ἐρ[ι] . . .]υ ριε . . . [λιβὸς Καταβοῦτος τοῦ Πισάειτος]
 [οἰκία καὶ αὐλῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρ]ος Ἀπύγχιος τοῦ Παώπιος οἰκία ἀπηλιώτου
 πρό[τε]ρον Πας]οκνοπαί[ου καὶ τῶν μετόχων οἰκία]
 [καὶ αὐλῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρος ἐτέρω]ν τόποι καὶ ἀπέχειν τὴν ὁμολογοῦσαν
 Τεσεν[ο]ῦφιν παρὰ τοῦ Παν[ε]φρίμιος τὴν συμπεφω-]
 12 [νημένην τιμὴν πᾶσαν ἐκ πλήρ]ους παραχρήμα διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου
 ἀργυρίου δ[ρα]χμὰς ἑκατ[ό]ν καὶ βε[βα]ιώσειν τὴν ὁμολογοῦσαν Τεσενούφιν]
 [καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῆς τῷ Παν]εφρίμει καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ πάσῃ βεβαιώσειν
 [ἀπὸ μ]ὲν δημ[ο]ς] [ῶν καὶ ιδιωτικῶν πάντων καὶ]
 [λαογραφῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν]προ[σ]θεν χρόνον μέχρι τοῦ ἐσομένου ἐτέρου ἱκονισμοῦ
 [ἀπογρ]αφῆ[ς] δ[η]μοσίου τε καὶ ιδιωτικοῦ καὶ]
 [πάσης ἐμποίηςως ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπα]ντα χρόνον καὶ εἰσόδους καὶ ἐξόδους καὶ
 ἀνοικοδομ[ο]ῦντος καὶ ἐπιτελ[ο]ῦντος καὶ ἐπικ[ε]υάζον[τος]
 16 [καὶ μηδὲν τὴν ὁμολογοῦσαν Τεσενού]φιν μήτε τοὺς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐνκαλεῖν
 τῶι Πανεφρ[ι]μει μή[τ]ε τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲ [ἐν]-
 [καλέσειν μηδὲ ἀμφισβητήσειν μ]ηδὲ ἐπελεύεσθαι τρόπῳ μηδενί.
 Ὅ,τι δ' ἂν τῶν προγεγραμμέν[ων παρασυγγραφῶ]ν, ἂν [δὲ μὴ]
 [βεβαιοῖ ἢ καὶ μὴ παρέ]χ[η]ται, προσαποτις ἄτω ἦν παρεῖληφεν τιμὴν διπλὴν
 καὶ τὰ τε βλάβη κ[αὶ] δαπαν[ή]μ[α]τα διπλᾶ καὶ ἐπ[ί] τιμον]
 [ἀργυρίου δραχ]μὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας. Ὑπογραφεὺς
 τῆς ὁμολογούσης Ἐριεὺς ὁ προγεγραμμένος
 20 [καὶ] τοῦ ἄλλου Καταβοῦτος τοῦ Ἀπύγχιος ὡς ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἑπτὰ
 οὐλῇ μετόπ[ω]ι ἐξ ἀριστερῶν.
 (m.2) Τεσενούφ]ις τῆς Πανεφρόμις τοῦ Παπεῖτος μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ τῆς
 ἀδελφῆς μου Ταβοῦτος ἀνδρὸς Ἐριέ]ω]ς τοῦ
 [Παπεῖτος] ὁμολοκο πεπρακέναι Πανεφρόμις τοῦ Πανε-
 φρόμις κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὁμολοκίαν ἀπὸ
 [τοῦ νῦν ἐ]π[ί] τὸν ἅπαν χρόνον τὸ ὑπάρχον μὴ μητρικὸν δωδέκατον καὶ εἰκοστὸν
 μέρος οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ αἰθρί-

- 24 [διον ἐκ] τοῦ πρὸς βορᾶ μέρους κοινὸν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ τὰ συνκύροντα πάντα ἐν τῇ] προγεγραμμένη [κώ]μη
[Cοκνο]παιῦ Νήσου [ῶ]ν γίτονες γότου ῥύμη βασιλικὴ βορᾶ Ἀπύνχιος τοῦ Παῶπιος καὶ τον μετόχον αὐλὴ [κ]αὶ πε
[τι μέρος] τέκον Ἐρ[ι]έος λι[β]ὸς Σεταβοῦτος τοῦ Πισάειτος ὑκία καὶ αὐλὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρος Ἀπύνχιος τ[οῦ] Παῶπε-
[ως οἰκί]α ἀπελειώτο[υ] πρὸ[τ]ε[ρο]ν Πασοκονπαιῦ καὶ τον μετόχον ὑκία καὶ αὐλὴ καὶ πὶ τιν μέρος ἕτερον τόπον
28 [καὶ ἀπέ]χω τῆς συντ[ε]φω[ν]ημέ]νην τιμὴν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν παραχρῆμα δ[ι]ὰ [χειρὸς] ἐκς ὕκον καὶ βεβαι-
[ώσω πά]ς]η βεβαιώσιν καθὼς πρόκειται. Ἐ[ριε]ύς ἔγραψε καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ εἶδένε γράματ[α]. (m.3) Πανε]φρόμμης Παν[ε]φρόμ[ι]μ[ι]ς
[τοῦ Πανε]φρέμμιος ἡγόρακα καθὼς πρόκειται. Ἐγραψεν [ὑ]πὲρ αὐτοῦ Καταβοῦς Ἀπύγχις διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι αὐτὸν γ]ράμματα.
[(m.4) Ἐντέ]τακ(ται) δ(ιὰ) τοῦ γρ(αφείου) ἐν τῇ Cοκνοπαιῦ Νήσου

2 Νή]ςω 8 Νήςω 13 βεβαιώσει 14 χρόνων; εἰκονισμοῦ 15 ἀνοικοδομ[ο]ῦν-
τας καὶ ἐπιτελ[οῦν]τας καὶ ἐπισκ[ε]υάζον[τας] 16 ἐγκαλεῖν 20 Καταβοῦς, μετῶπω
21 ἡ Πανεφρόμμιος 22 ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι Πανεφρόμμι Πανεφρόμμιος τοῦ
Πανεφρόμμιος; ὁμολογίαν 23 ἅπαντα; μοι; δωδέκατον; οἰκίας 24 βορρᾶ; συγκύ-
ροντα 25 Νήςω; γείτονες; βορρᾶ; τῶν μετόχων, ἐπὶ 26 τέκνων, οἰκία 27 ἀπη-
λιώτου; Πασοκονπαιῦ καὶ τῶν μετόχων οἰκία; ἐπὶ τι; ἐτέρων τόποι 28 τὴν; συμ-
π[ε]φω[ν]ημέ]νην; ἔξ οἴκου 29 βεβαιώσει; πρόκειται; <διὰ τὸ> μὴ εἶδέναι γράμ-
ματ[α]. Πανε]φρόμμης Πανεφρόμμιος 30 Ἀπύγχεως 31 Νήςω

(1st hand) [The x year of the] Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, the x of the month Ca[esarius x, Mesore x, in Socnopaiou] Nesos of the division of Heracleides of the Arsinoite nome. [Tesenouphis, daughter of Panephrimmi, son of Papeis, aged about] [-]six years, with scar on the right foot and the right eye well-marked, [with as her guardian her sister's, Tabous, husband] Erieus, son of Pasis, aged about fifty-two years, with scar on the [right (?)] shin acknowledges [to Panephrimmi, son of Panephrimmi, son of Panephrimmi], aged about fifty-two years, with scar on the right shin, [that she, the acknowledging party, has sold to him in accordance with this] agreement from the present day forever the [twelfth and twentieth] part of a two-storied house and yard [belonging to her, Tesenouphis, through inheritance from her own mother,] in which there is an atrium, common and undivided, [together with all appurtenances in the above-mentioned] village of Socnopaiou Nesos, the boundaries of which entire house and yard being, on the south the royal street, on the north the old

house of Apynchis, son of Paopis, and the joint owners, and for a certain part [] of the children of Er[ieus], on the west the house and yard of Setabous, son of Pisais, and for a certain] part the house of Apynchis, son of Paopis, on the east [the house and yard] formerly owned by Pasocnopaïos [and the joint owners and for a certain part] the plots of other owners, and that the acknowledging party, Tesenouphis, has received from Panephrimmi [the price agreed in full] forthwith from hand to hand out of the house, one hundred silver drachmae, and [that the acknowledging party, Tesenouphis, and her assigns will entirely] guarantee Panephrimmi and his assigns from all charges both public [and private and from poll-tax from] former times until the next registered description of individuals for purposes of census, from public [and private charges and every claim for] all time, (Panephrimmi having right over) both entering and departing, building up and disposing and repairing, [and that the acknowledging party, Tesenouphis and her assigns make and will make no accusation or dispute nor will they bring suit in any way against Panephrimmi or [his assigns], transgressing none of the aforesaid provisions. If [she does not guarantee or does not] deliver the property, she shall pay in addition double the price which she has received and double the damages and the expenses and as a penalty fifty [silver] drachmae, and to the public treasury the like amount. The subscriber of the acknowledging party is Erius, the above-mentioned [guardian of hers, and the subscriber] of the other party is Satabous, son of Apynchis, aged about forty-seven years, with a scar on the left side of the forehead.

(2nd hand) I, Tesenouphis, daughter of Panephrimmi, son of Papeis, with as a guardian my sister's, Tabous, husband, Erius, son of Papeis, acknowledge that I have sold to Panephrimmi, son of Panephrimmi, son of Panephrimmi, in accordance with the agreement from now forever the twelfth and twentieth part of a house and yard and an atrium on the north side, belonging to me through inheritance from my own mother, common and undivided, and all appurtenances in the above-mentioned village of Socnopaïou Nesos, the boundaries being, on the south the royal street, on the north the yard of Apynchis, son of Paopis, and the joint owners, and for a certain part the children of Erius, [], on the west the house and yard of Setabous, son of Pisais, and in one part the house of Apynchis,

son of Paopis, on the east the house and yard formerly owned by Pasocnopaïos and the joint owners and for a certain part the plots of other owners, and I have received the price agreed forthwith from hand to hand out of the house, one hundred silver drachmae, and I will entirely guarantee, as stated above. I, Eriëus, have written on her behalf, as well, as she does not know letters. (3rd hand) I, Panephrommis son of Panephrommis, son of Panephrommis, have bought as stated above. I, Satabous, son of Apynchis, have written on his behalf, as he does not know letters.

(4th hand) Docketed through the record-office in Socnopaïou Nesos.

1 Δομεῖτι[α]νοῦ: or Δομεῖτι[α]νοῦ? The document is to be dated between 25 July - 23 August of 82-96 A.D. For μηνὸς Κα[ι]σαρείου x Μεσορήx, see 2.1n. In 312.5 Panephrimmis III is said to be 52 years old and in 313.5 4[-], which indicates that, in case Panephrimmis gave correct information about his age, if we supply the age of 4[9] for him, the contract preserved in 312 was drawn up at least three years after 313. For the more accurate data on ages during the Roman period because of the more efficient registration of births see R.P. Duncan-Jones, "Age-rounding in Greco-Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 33 (1979) 169-77, esp. 173-5.

2 ἐν τῇ Κοκνοπαίου Νή]ρου τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινο[ίτου] νομοῦ: In the beginning of the line the word κώμη before the name of the village is not written and so in *P.Ryl.* II 161.2 [ἐν τῇ C]οκνοπαίου (corrected by F. Mitthof, *op.cit.* [above, 2.2 note]).

Ἀρσινο[ίτου]: The lacuna is not wide enough for the wrong spelling Ἀρσινο[είτου].

2-3 Τεεενοῦφικ Πανεφρίμμιος τοῦ Παπεῖτος: Based on line 11 and 21. For Papeis see *Demotisches Namenbuch*, p. 367, "the man from Socnopaïou Nesos".

Πανεφρίμμιος: more probable than Πανεφρίμμεως, because of line 5 Πανεφρίμμι]ος.

3 ὡς ἐτῶν] . . . οντα ἕξ: The two letters just before . . . οντα should be either ηκ (e.g. πεντήκοντα, ἑξήκοντα etc.) or ακ (e.g. τριάκοντα, τεσσαράκοντα), but the remaining traces do not allow us to decide.

For the ages ending in -6 (for people aged 23-62 years) see R.P. Duncan-Jones, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 174.

οὐλή: For the bodily locations of scars, which mirror the subjective condition of the individual scribes see H.C. Youtie, "Εὐτυχος Εὐτύχου," *ZPE* 21 (1976) 207-8.

καὶ εὗσημον ὀφθαλμὸν δεξιόν: In *P.Flor.* III 302.7 it is possible instead of] τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν to read εὗσημον ὀφθαλμὸν (checked on the original by R. Pintaudi).

3-4 μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς [αὐτῆς Ταβοῦτος ἀνδρὸς Ἐ]ρ[ι]εῦτος τ[ο]ῦ Παπ[ε]ῖτος: Based on lines 22-23.

4-5 Πανεφρίμμι Πανεφρίμμιος τοῦ Πανεφρίμμιος: Based on line 22 we can supply the father's and grandfather's names here. The spelling Πανεφρίμμις instead of Πανεφρόμις, line 22 (i.e. iota followed by two ms) based on lines 13 and 16; see n. *ad loc.*

6-7 μητρικὸν δωδέκατον καὶ εἰκοστὸν μέρος: Based on line 23.

7 δωδέκατον καὶ εἰκοστόν: It is also possible to be written in figures, i.e. ιβ καὶ κ This is the first papyrological attestation of such fractions of houses.

οἰκίας διςτέγου καὶ αὐλῆς: See above 2, 6n.

ἐν αἰ αἰθρίδιον: In lines 23-24 we read καὶ αἰθρί|διον ἐκ] τοῦ πρὸς βορᾱ μέρους. It seems that here the phrase ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς βορᾱ μέρους was not written. On the meaning of this word and its relation to the roman *atrium* see P.Chantraine, "Grec αἶθριον," *Recherches de Papyrologie* 3 (1964) 7-15; G. Husson, *OIKIA*, 34; H. Maehler, "Häuser und ihre Bewohner im Fayûm in der Kaiserzeit," *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten, Akten des Internationalen Symposions 26-30 September 1978* (Trier 1983) 137, and n. 39.

7-8 καὶ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ τὰ συγκύροντα πάντα ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένη κώμη: The restoration is based on line 24, τὰ συγκύροντα πάντα cf. 313.8.

8 γείτονες: or γείτονος.

8-9 βορᾱ] | [Ἀπύνχιος τοῦ Παώπιος καὶ τῶν μετ'όχων οἰκία παλαιὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρ[ο]ς τέκνων ἐρι[. . .]υ ριε]: A possible restoration could be Ἐρι[έος το]ῦ Ἐριέος α. [; the last letter seems to be a c, φ or a difficult υ. What is needed here is the reference to a

place, e.g. a house, a yard etc. We could propose αὐ[λή. The text in the subscription (lines 25-26 καὶ τον μετόχον αὐλή [κ]αὶ ἡ ε |]. τεκον Ἐρ[ι]ξος) gives no solution, since this phrase is difficult to restore, as well (see note below). An Erius, son of Erius, is found in Socnopaiou Nesos in *P.Lond.* II 216 (94 A.D.).

9-10 [λιβὸς Σεταβοῦτος τοῦ Πισάειτος οἰκία καὶ αὐλή καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρος Ἀπύγχιος τοῦ Παώπιως οἰκία: Based on lines 26-27.

10-11 ἀπηλιώτου πρό[τερον Πας]οκνοπαί[ου καὶ τῶν μετόχων οἰκία καὶ αὐλή καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρος ἐτέρω]ν τόποι: Based on line 27. In the beginning of line 11 a reading ἐτέρω]ν τόπον is possible.

11-12 [τὴν συμπεφωνημένην τιμὴν πᾶσαν ἐκ πλήρου]ς παραχρῆμα διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου If the phrase τοῦ πεπραμμένου δωδεκάτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ μέρους οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς, usually found in these documents, was written here, the letters would have been too many for the lacuna. The subscription does not help us, because at this point in other parallel examples there is no consistency in the repetition of details.

12 πᾶσαν ἐκ πλήρου]ς: Instead of πᾶσαν we could supply πᾶν, restored by analogy with 2.11n.

13 Παν]εφρίμμει: Cf. also line 16, Πανεφρ[ί]μμει: I find this reading most probable because of the spelling of the name in 313.5. What is written before μ could be an ι or ε; after μ, either ι or ει.

14 λαογραφιῶν: See S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* (New York 1969 repr.) 116-34, 413-18; D.H. Samuel, "New Editions of two Vienna Papyri," *BASP* 14 (1977) 127-43.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνπρο]ςθεν χρόνον: See 2.13n.

18-19 προσαποτιμάτω ἣν παρείληφεν τιμὴν διπλὴν καὶ τὰ τε βλάβη κ[αὶ δαπαν]ήμ[ατ]α διπλᾶ καὶ ἐπί[τιμον | ἀργυρίου δραχ]μὰς πενήκοντα καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἱσας: Cf. *SB* XVI 12957.18-9 προσαποτειμάτω τῷ ἐνμένοντι ἣν παρείληφεν παραχρῆμα τιμὴν διπλὴν | [καὶ βλάβην καὶ] ἀναλώματα διπλᾶ καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἱσας. See 2.17-8n.

20 Καταβοῦς τοῦ Ἀπύγχιος: Cf. below line 30 with note. Or read Ἀπύγχιος?

21 τῆς Πανεφρόμυς: Cf. *PSI* XIII 1320.17, where the same mistake of the subscriber occurs.

κυρίου: The scribe drew two parallel strokes for ι.

22 ὁμολοκο πεπρακταίνε: For the phonological interchange of γ and κ see Gignac, *Grammar* I, 77; cf. in the same line ὁμολοκίαν. For the interchange of ω and ο see *ibid.* 276; cf. below line 23 δοδέκατον. For the interchange of αι and ε see *ibid.* 192-3; cf. below line 29 εἰδένε.

22-23 ἀπὸ | τοῦ νῦν ἐ]πὶ τὸν ἅπαν χρόνον: Cf. line 6 ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρ[ό]νον.

23 μυ --- ὑκίας For the interchange of οι and υ see Gignac, *op.cit.*, 197, n. 3a1.

23-24 καὶ αἰθρί[διον ἐκ] τοῦ πρὸς βορᾶ μέρους: There is an addition of a detail with respect to line 7 ἐν ᾧ αἰθρίδιον.

25-26 καὶ τον μετόχον αὐλὴ [κ]αὶ πε | [τι μέρος] ε τέκον Ἐρ[ι]έος : The last letter of line 26 is certainly an ε. The preceding letter could be read either as a π or an η. I consider this πε as a phonological mistake for ἐπί, and supplement in accordance with line 9, καὶ τῶν μετ[ό]χων οἰκία παλαιὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρ[ο]ς τέκνων ἐρι[....]υ ριε [. In line 27 ἐπὶ was written as πῖ, indicating that the scribe omitted the initial unaccented epsilon in both cases and then in the first case merely interchanged the right iota with the false eta. In view of πασοκονπαιου instead of πασοκνοπαιου in line 27 (see n. below), i.e. ον- instead of νο-, we might conclude that the same process applies in this line as well: τεκον instead of τεκνον (read τέκνων).

27 οἰκί]α: Probably written as in the other cases as ὑκί]α.

Πασοκονπαιού: For the development of a vowel between two consonants, -κν-, see Gignac, *Grammar* I, 311, n. 2. For the loss of an unaccented vowel after a nasal, i.e. loss of ο after ν, when the preceding syllable has the same vowel see *ibid.* 306, note 2a.

πί τιν μέρος: For the development of -ν before a word beginning with a nasal see *ibid.* 113, n. 2c.

28 καὶ ἀπέ]χω τῆς συνπ[ε]φω[νημέ]νην τιμὴν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν παραχρῆμα δ[ι]ὰ [χειρὸς] ἐκς ὕκον: Cf. the different sequence of the details in lines 11-2, τὴν συμπεφω[νημένην] τιμὴν πᾶν

ἐκ πλήρο]υς παραχρῆμα διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀργυρίου δ[ραχμὰς ἑκατ]όν.

τῆς συνπ[ε]φω[νημέ]νην τιμὴν: Cf. *CPR* I 220.15.

ἐκς ὕνκον: For the replacement of ξ by its phonetically equivalent κc see Gignac, *Grammar* I, 139, n. 2a. For the insertion of nasals before stops see *ibid.* 118, n. 2a.

29 καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς: Erius signs not only on his behalf as a guardian, but also on Tesenouphis's behalf. See H.C. Youtie, "ὑπογραφεύς: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 17 (1975) 212-4 [= *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I, 190-2].

Πανε]φρόμμικ Παν[εφρόμ]μ[ι]ς or Πανε]φρόμμιος Παν[εφρόμ]-μ[ι]ς.

30 Ἐγραψεν [ύ]πὲρ αὐτοῦ Καταβοῦς Ἀπύγχις διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδένα[ι αὐτὸν γ]ράμματα: Cf. the same scribe in *P.Stras.* IX 824.3-4 (Socnopaίου Nesos; ca. 70 A.D.) ἔγραψεν ὁ [πὲρ αὐ]τοῦ Σαταβοῦς Ἀπύγχις διὰ τὸ μὴ [εἰδ]έναι αὐτοῖς γράμματα.

***P.Ryl.* II 313**

18.5 x 25.8 cm

10/2/90 A.D.

Plate 9

Socnopaίου Nesos

A papyrus fragment written on the —> side. The surviving top margin measures ca. 2.7 cm and the bottom margin ca. 4.1 cm. The back is blank. In estimating the number of letters lost in the papyrus in lines 1-21 we have to be guided by the restorations in lines 12-18, all of which seem reasonably secure, and the text of the subscription in lines 22-31. So, the width of the written area could be calculated to be ca. 85-95 letters for lines 1-21 and to ca. 50-60 letters for lines 22-31.

Papeis and Tasokis acknowledge to Panephrimmi, son of Panephrimmi, son of Panephrimmi, that they have sold to him 1/6 (line 7) or 1/10 (line 12) of a house and yard (line 7n.). The price paid is 32 drachmae. The contract is a standard form of *homologia*, drawn up and registered in the *grapheion* at Socnopaίου Nesos. It has the following structure: Date and place (lines 1-2). The body of the contract in the form of a *homologia* (lines 2-21). Subscription of

both parties (line 32) [a. Subscription of Papeis and Tasokis (lines 22-30). b. Subscription of Panephrimmi (lines 30-31)]. Notice of registration (lines 31-32).

The handwriting of the person who signs for the sellers (second hand) has the following characteristics: The left part of the letter ν and the letter λ are made in two movements in the same way. After νότου at the end of line 25 the scribe wrote a small horizontal stroke out of *horror vacui*. Syllable breaks at line end are correct. The handwriting of the person who signs for the buyer, Panephrimmi, son of Satabous, is smaller than the others. Thus, in the lacuna at the beginning of line 31 there is room for more letters than in that of lines 22-30 (of the second hand).

For the physical relationship of this property and the property sold in **312**, see the introduction to that text, above.

- (m.1) [Ετους x Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικ]οῦ μηνὸς Δύστρου ε[--- Τῦβι x]
[ἐν τῇ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσῳ τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου
νομ]οῦ. Ὁμολογ[ο]ῦσι Π[απεῖς --- NN τοῦ NN ---]
[ὡς ἐτῶν --- x --- οὐλὴ ἀντι]κνημίω[ι] ἀ[ριστερῶι καὶ δακτύλῳ
δευτ]έρῳ χειρὸς ἀριστερᾶς καὶ Τασῶκις NN]
4 [τοῦ NN - - -] ὡς ἐτῶν τεσσα[ράκον]τ[ι]α]
οὐλὴ CIAΓΟΝ[ι ca. 25 letters]
[μετὰ κυρίου c. 13 letters Π]ανεφρίμμι Πανεφρίμμι[ς τοῦ Πανε-
φ]ρ[ιμ]μιοῦ ὡς ἐ[τῶν] τεσσαράκο[ντα --- οὐλὴ ---]
[..... πεπρακέναι αὐτῷ τ]οὺς ὁμολογοῦντος κατὰ τήνδ[ε] τήν
ὁμολογίαν ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς ἐνεσ[τ]ώσεως [ἡμέρας ἐπὶ]
[τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τὸ ὑπάρχον] αὐτοῖς κοινωνικὸν πατρικὸν ἔκτον [μέ]ρος
οἰκίας διςτέγου καὶ αὐλῆς ἐκ τοῦ [π]ρὸς
8 [βορρᾶ μέρους καὶ τὰ συγκύρ]οντα πάντα ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένη κώμῃ
Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου ὧν γίτωνος ὅλης τῆς
[οἰκίας καὶ τῆς αὐλῆς νότου] ῥύμη βασιλικῆ βορρᾶ Ἀτύγχιος τοῦ Παῶπι[ς]
καὶ τῶν μετόχων οἰκίαν καὶ αὐλὴν λι-
[βὸς πρότερον Πισάιτος τοῦ] Στοσήτιος νυνεὶ δὲ τῶν τέκνων οἰκία καὶ αὐλὴ
ἀπληρώτου πρότ[ερ]ον Καταβοῦτος τοῦ
[..... καὶ τῶν με]τόχων οἰκία καὶ αὐλὴ, καὶ ἀπέχειν τοὺς
ὁμολογοῦντος Παπεῖ[τιν κ]αὶ Τασῶκιν παρὰ τοῦ
12 [Πανεφρίμμιος τὴν συμπε]φνημένην τιμὴν [τοῦ] πεπραμμένου δεκάτου
[μ]έρους οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς π[ᾶν] ἐκ πλῆ-
[ρους παραχρῆμα διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀργυρίου δρα]χ[μᾶ]ς τριάκοντα δύο
καὶ βεβαιώσιν τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντο[ς] Παπεῖτιν
[καὶ Τασῶκιν καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν τῷ Πανεφρίμμι] καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ

- πά[χ]η βεβαίωσιν ἀπὸ μὲν δημοσίων καὶ
 [ιδιωτικῶν πάντων καὶ λαογραφῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνπρο]ςθεν χρόνον μέχρι τοῦ
 ἐ[ς]ομένου ἐτέρου εἰκονισμοῦ ἀπογρα-
- 16 [φῆς δημοσίου τε καὶ ιδιωτικοῦ καὶ πάσης ἐμποιῆς]εως ἐπὶ τὸν [ἅτ]αντα
 χρ[όνο]ν καὶ εἰσόδ[ο]ις καὶ ἐξόδοις καὶ ἀνοικο-
 [δομοῦντας καὶ ἐπιτελοῦντας καὶ ἐπισκευάζοντας καὶ μ]η[δὲν το]ς
 ὁμολογοῦντος Παπεῖτιν καὶ Ταῶκιν μήτε τοὺς
 [παρ' αὐτῶν ἐγκαλεῖν μηδὲ ἐγκαλέσειν μηδὲ ἀμφισβητήσιν μηδὲ ἐπελεύεσθαι
 τρ]όπῳ μηδενί. "Ὅ,τι δ' ἂν τῶν προγεγραμμένων παρα-
 [συγγραφοῦντες, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βεβαίῳσι ἢ καὶ μὴ παρέχωνται, προσαποτις αὐτῶ]-
 [ς]α]ν τὰ τε βλάβη κ[αὶ] τ[ῆ] ἀ]δαπανήματα διπλᾶ
- 20 [καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς x καὶ εἰς τὸ δημοσίον τὰς ἴσας.
 Ὑπο]γραφεὺς τοῦ μὲν ὁμολογοῦντος Καταβοῦς Ἐρι-
 [έως --- ὡς ἐτῶν --- οὐλ(ή) --- καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου Παν]εφρίμις
 Καταβοῦτος ὡς ἐτῶν λβ οὐλ(ή) ὀφρῦει [δε]ξιᾷ.
 [(m.2) Παπεῖς NN καὶ Τα]ῶκικς μετὰ κυρίου αὐτοῦ
 α...τος δ... ὁμολ[ογ]οῦμεν
 [πεπρακέναι Πανεφρίμει Πανεφρίμιος Πανεφρίμιος κατὰ τήνδε τ]ήν
 ὁμολογίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν ἅ-
- 24 [παντα χρόνον τὸ ὑπάρχον ἡμῖν κοινωνικὸν πατρικὸν ἕκτον μέρος] οἰκίας
 διςτέγου καὶ αὐλῆς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρους καὶ
 [τὰ συκύροντα πάντα ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ κώμῃ Κοκνοπαίου Νή]ου ὧν
 γείτονες ὅλης τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῆς αὐλῆς νότου
 [ρύμη βασιλικῇ βορρᾶ Ἀπύγχιος τοῦ Παώπιος καὶ τῶν μετόχων οἰκί]αι καὶ
 αὐλῇ λιβὸς πρότερον Πιςάιτος νυνεὶ δὲ τῶν τέ-
 [κνων οἰκία καὶ αὐλῇ ἀπηλιώτου πρότερον Καταβοῦτος NN καὶ]
 τῶν μετόχων οἰκία καὶ αὐλῇ καὶ ἀπέχομεν τὴν συν-
- 28 [πεφωνημένην τιμὴν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τριάκοντα δύο καὶ βεβαι]ώσομεν
 πάσῃ βεβαίῳσιν ἀπὸ μὲν δημοσίων καὶ εἰ-
 [διωτικῶν πάντων καὶ λαογραφῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον μέχρι] τοῦ
 ἐσομένου ἐτέρου ἰκονισμοῦ ἀπογραφῆς καθὼς
 πρόκειται. NN ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς γράμματα.
 (m.3) Πανεφρόμις Πανεφρόμις τοῦ Πανεφρόμις
- 31 ἡγόρακα. Πανεφρίμις Καταβοῦτος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι
 αὐτόν] γράμματα. (m.4) Ἐντέτακ(ται) δι(ιὰ) τοῦ ἐν τῇ Κοκνοπαίου
 Νή(ς) γρα-
 32 φείου
- 5 Π]ανεφρίμει Πανεφρίμιος [τοῦ Πανεφ]ρ[ίμ]ιος 6 ὁμολογοῦντας 8 Νήα;
 γείτονες 9 οἰκία καὶ αὐλῇ 11 ὁμολογοῦντας 12 συμπε]φωνημένην; π[ᾶσαν]
 13 βεβαιώσκει; ὁμολογοῦντα[ς] 14 βεβαιώσκει 15 χρόνων 17 ὁμολογοῦντας
 20 τῶν μὲν ὁμολογούντων 21 οὐ^α 25 Νή]ς 26 οἰκί]α? 27 συμ- 28 βεβαι-
 ὴσκει; i- 29 εἰκονισμοῦ 30 Πανεφρόμις Πανεφρόμιος τοῦ Πανεφρόμιος

(1st hand) The x year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanic[us], [the x] of the month Dystrus, [Tybi x, in Socnopaïou Nesos of the division of Heracleides of the Arsinoite] nome. P[apeis, son of NN, son of NN, aged about [-]-two years, having scars] on the left shin [and on the second finger] of the left hand, [and Tasokis, daughter of NN, son of NN], aged about forty[.] years, having scar on the jaw, [with her guardian] acknowledge to Panephrimmis, son of Panephrimmis, son of Panephrimmis, aged about forty[-] years, [having a scar on - - -], that they, the acknowledging parties, [have sold to him] in accordance with the agreement from the present [day forever] the sixth part of a two-storied house and yard on the [northern side, belonging] to them, held in common, through inheritance from their own father, and all appurtenances, in the above-mentioned village of Socnopaïou Nesos, [of which whole house and yard] the boundaries being, on the south the royal street, on the north the houses and the yard of Apynchis, son of Paopis, and the joint owners, on the west the house and yard [formerly owned by] Pesais, son of Stotoetis, but now by the children, on the east the house and yard formerly owned by Satabous, son of [NN], and the joint owners, and that the acknowledging parties, Papeis and Tasokis, have received from [Panephrimmis] the price agreed upon for the tenth part of the house and yard in full [forthwith from hand to hand out of the house], thirty-two silver drachmae, and that the acknowledging parties, Papeis [and Tasokis and their assigns], will entirely guarantee Panephrimmis and his assigns from all charges both public and [private and from poll-tax from] former times until the next registered description of individuals for purposes of census, [from public and private charges and every claim], for all time, (Panephrimmis having right over) both entering and departing, building up [and disposing and repairing], and that the acknowledging parties, Papeis and Tasokis, [and their assigns neither make nor will make accusation or dispute or bring suit] in any way, transgressing none of the aforesaid provisions. [If they do not guarantee or do not deliver the property, they shall pay in addition] double the damages and the expenses [and as a penalty x silver drachmae and to the public treasury the like amount]. The subscriber of the acknowledging parties is Satabous, son of Erieus[--- aged about x years, having a scar on x, the subscriber of the other

party] is Panephrimmi, son of Satabous, aged about 32 years, having a scar on the right brow. (2nd hand) [We, Papeis and] Tasokis together with guardian acknowledge [that we have sold to Panephrimmi, son of Panephrimmi, son of Panephrimmi, in accordance] with the agreement from the present day forever [the sixth part of a] two-storied house and yard on the northern section, [belonging to us, held in common, through inheritance from our own father, and all appurtenances in the above-mentioned village Sochnopaiou] Nesos, of which whole house and yard the boundaries being, on the south [the royal street, on the north the houses of Apynchis, son of Paopis, and the joint owners], on the west [the house and yard] formerly owned by Pesais, but now by the children, [on the east] the house and yard [formerly owned by Satabous, son of NN], and the joint owners, and we have received the price agreed, [thirty-two silver drachmae], and we will entirely guarantee from all charges both public and private and from poll-tax from former times until the next registered description of individuals for purposes of census, as [stated above. I, NN, have written on their behalf, as they do not know] letters. (3rd hand) I, Panephrimmi, son of Panephrimmi, son of Panephrimmi [have bought. I, Panephrimmi, son of Satabous, have written on his behalf, as he does not know] letters. (4th hand) Docketed through the record-office in Sochnopaiou Nesos.

1 ε[: Cf. the second ε in ενετωσης, line 6. For the use of the Macedonian and Egyptian months see 2.1, note.

2 Π[απεις: Cf. the initial π in Πανεφρίμμις, line 5 and παντα, line 8. The name is restored based on line 11. We cannot establish any connection with Papeis I or Papeis II of 312.

3 δευ]ερω: Or μι]ερω? In that case cf. κ of πατρικον, line 7. The letter which precedes ω fits better a ρ with a small upper semi-circle than an ι which protrudes below the line; i.e.]ειω (cf. *P.Coll.Youtie* 25.11 πήχει ὑπὶω χειρός) is not likely.

Ταωκις: This name (with all its variants; see *Demotisches Namenbuch*, p. 1211) is mainly an Arsinoite one, attested in the three first centuries A.D.: *P.Mich.* V 250.1 (18 A.D.) Ταωκις (Ταωκις Pap); *P.Princ.* I 8.v.29; vi.1 (27-32 A.D.) Ταωκις(c);

PSI VIII 909.[8], 20, 21 (44 A.D.) Ταϰωῦκις; *P.Mich.* V 316.2 (I A.D.) Ταϰῶκις; *PSI* VIII 916.1 (I A.D.) Ταϰῶκις; *BGU* XV 2519.9 (164 A.D.) Ταϰῶκ(εως); *P.Petaus* 111.5 (184-5 A.D.) Τα[ϰ]ῶκιος; 61.7 Ταϰῶκεως; 63.17 Ταϰῶκιος (185 A.D.); *P.Lond.* II 254.iii.53 (II A.D.) Ταϰῶκεως; *P.Vind.Bosw.* 16.5 (II-III A.D.) Ταϰῶκιος.

4 ὡς ἐτῶν τεϰϰα[ράκον]τ[α]: In the lacuna there is room for about eight letters and we can assume the cardinal number τεϰϰάρων.

οὐλή CIAΓΟΝ[ι: There is space for about 25 letters. E.g. we could restore οὐλή CIAΓΟΝ[ι δεξιᾶ (or ἀριστερᾶ) καὶ ἀντικνημῖω δεξιῶ.

5 [μετὰ κυρίου ca. 13 letters]: The details given in line 22 (see n. *ad loc.*) should be supplied here; see below.

Π]ανεφρίμμι Πανεφρίμμι[ϰ τοῦ Πανεφ]ρ[ίμ]μιοϰ: The name in the dative could be read as Π]ανεφρίμμι, because the right stroke of the second μ is vertical and not oblique as in other examples. The ending of the father's and grandfather's names are more a result of guesswork based on line 30, where the name of the buyer is spelled, because of the subscriber's phonological interchanges as Πανεφρόμις Πανεφρόμις τοῦ Πανεφρόμις.

6 τ]οὺς ὁμολογοῦντοϰ: The same mistake is to be found in lines 11, 13, 17. In line 20 the scribe instead of τῶν ὁμολογούντων wrote again τοῦ ὁμολογοῦντοϰ; cf. also γίτονοϰ, line 8. For the interchange of α and ο see Gignac, *Grammar* I, 286.

7 κοινωνικόν: This is one of the earliest attestations of the adjective referring to a house; cf. also *P.Mich.* X 583.7, 28 (Bacch.; 78 A.D.); *P.Oxy.* II 248.21, 28; 249.18 (Oxy.; 80 A.D.). For its legal meaning see *P.Mich.* X 583, introd., p. 22 and n. 3 there. In *SPP* XXII 59.8 an οἰκία is referred to as κοινωνιμαία.

ἐκτον [μέ]ροϰ: The scribe in line 12 wrote δεκάτου [μ]έρουϰ. The latter seems to be an error possibly due to the scribe's quick glance at the details above. Then EKTON could be read very easily, and consequently wrongly written, as ΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ.

7-8 ἐκ τοῦ [π]ρὸϰ | βορρᾶ μέρουϰ: Based on line 24.

9 Ἀπύγχιος: For απ cf. ἀπηλιώτου, line 10. For γ cf. ὁμολογοῦντοϰ, lines 6, 11 and 13.

οἰκία καὶ αὐλή: In the beginning of line 26 we read οἰκί]αι καὶ αὐλή, since after the α there is a vertical stroke. The latter, however, could be regarded either as the vertical stroke of an unfinished κ for καί which was then written again, or as a false addition of an ι; cf. BGU I 350, 7 (Socnopaiou Nesos; 98-117 A.D.) Ὀννώφρεως οἰκία; see Gignac, *Grammar* I, 194.

10 πρότερον Πικάιτος τοῦ]: Based on line 26. A person named Pisais, son of Stotoetis is found in Socnopaiou Nesos in BGU III 910 (70 A.D.).

10-11 Καταβοῦτος τοῦ | καὶ τῶν με]τόχων: At the beginning of line 11 there is space for 10-2 letters for Satabous' father. In line 27, where the same name should have been mentioned, there is space for about 7 letters, but we must take into consideration possible scribal mistakes, especially in the subscription. It is possible to supply Πικά(ε)ιτος; see 312 introd., above.

11 Παπεῖ]τιν: for the accusative form cf. line 13 below.

12 π[ᾶν]: The space is not enough for πᾶσαν]. Restored by analogy with 2.11.

15 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνπρο]χθεν χρόνον: See 2.13n.

18-19 παρα[συνγραφοῦντες, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βεβαιῶσι ἢ καὶ μὴ παρέχωνται]: The plural of the participle or the verbs could be also mistakenly written by the scribe, e.g. παρασυνγραφῶν, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βεβαιοῖ ἢ καὶ μὴ παρέχεται.

22 μετὰ κυρίου αὐτοῦ α . . . ος . δ . ο ὁμολ[ογ]οῦμεν. The letters which survive after αὐτ- do not suggest αὐτῆς. The letter α is almost certain because its form is characteristic in this hand. For a possible parallel suggesting -τος cf. πικάιτος, line 26. Next and before the secure reading δ, one or two letters are written, of which the second could be an ι. The absence of the article τοῦ between κυρίου and αὐτοῦ (if the reading αὐτοῦ is right) suggests that the guardian was a person who should have been mentioned before (in the lost part of the beginning of line 22) and here the sense requires the repetition of his name or his relationship with Tasokis. It is hard to read ἀνδρός, but ἀντλός (read by K.A. Worp) or ἀντγός followed by ὑ δυο is the best solution so far. Therefore, a reading no better than guesswork could be e.g. μετὰ κυρίου αὐτοῦ ἀντλός, ὕ (=

άνδρὸς, οἱ) δύο ὁμολ[ογ]οῦμεν. Cf. parallel phraseology in signatures in *BGU* II 526.28 (Socnopaiou Nesos; 86 A.D.). In that case in line 5 of the present papyrus we can supply, accordingly, [μετὰ κυρίου αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς Π]ανεφρίμμις.

28-30 πάση βεβαιώσιν ἀπὸ μὲν δημοσίων καὶ εἰ[δωτικῶν πάντων καὶ λαογραφῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον μέχρι] τοῦ ἐσομένου ἑτέρου ἱκονισμοῦ ἀπογραφῆς καθὼς | [πρόκειται: Here a part of the clause is repeated in the subscription, in contrast to the the other parallel documents.

31 Πανεφρίμμις Καταβοῦτος: Based on line 21.

Index of names

Ἀπύγχις, father of Καταβοῦς, **312.20**, 30

Ἀπύγχις, son of Παῶπις, **312.9**, 10, 25, 26; **313.9**, [26]

Ἐριεῦς, father of Καταβοῦς, **313.21**, [32]

Ἐριεῦς, son of Παπεῖς, husband of Ταβοῦς, **312.4**, 19, 21

Νεσθνήφις, father of Τεσῆς, **2.8**, 26

Ὀννῶφρις, son of Τεκενοῦφις, father of Πανεφρέμμις and Ταπιᾶμις, grandfather of Τεκενοῦφις, **2.3**, 29, back

Πανεφρίμμις I, father of Πανεφρίμμις II, grandfather of Πανεφρίμμις III, **312.4**, 11, 13, 16, 22, 29; **313.5**, [23], 30

Πανεφρίμμις II, father of Πανεφρίμμις III, son of Πανεφρίμμις I, **312.4**, 11, 13, 16, 22, 29; **313.5**, [23], 30

Πανεφρίμμις III, son of Πανεφρίμμις II, grandson of Πανεφρίμμις I, **312.4**, 11, 13, 16, 22, 29; **313.5**, [14], [23], 30

Πανεφρίμμις, son of Ὀννῶφρις, grandson of Τεκενοῦφις, father of Τεκενοῦφις, grandfather of Στοτοῆτις, brother of Ταπιᾶμις, **2.2**, 22

Πανεφρίμμις, son of Παπεῖς, father of Τεκενοῦφις, **312.2**, 21

Πανεφρίμμις, son of Καταβοῦς, **313.21**, [31]

Παπείς I, father of Πανεφρίμμικ, grandfather of Τεκενοῦφικ, **312.[3]**,
21

Παπείς II, father of Ἐριεῦς, **312.4**, [22]

Παπείς III, husband of Τασῶκικ, his father's and grandfather's
name lost, **313.[2]**, 11, 13, 16, [22]

Πάσεικ, father of Τανεφρίμμικ, **2.9**, [26]

Πασοκνοπαῖος, **312.10**. 29

Παῶπις, father of Ἀπύγχικ, **312.[9]**, 10, 25, 27-[28]; **313.9**, [26]

Πισαίικ, father of Καταβοῦς, **312.[9]**, 26

Πισαίικ, son of Στοτοῆτικ, **313.10**, 26

Καταβοῦς, his father's name lost, **313.10**

Καταβοῦς, father of Πανεφρίμμικ, **313.21**, [31]

Καταβοῦς, son of Ἀπύγχικ, **312.20**, 30

Καταβοῦς, son of Πισαίικ, **312.[9]**, 26

Καταβοῦς, son of Ἐριεῦς, **313.20-21**, [32]

Στοτοῆτικ, father of Πισαίικ, **313.10**

Στοτοῆτικ, son of Τεκενοῦφικ, grandson of Πανεφρέμμικ, **2.2**, 10, 12,
22

Κωτήριχoc, father's and grandfather's names lost, **2.[19]**, 28

Ταβοῦς, sister of Τεκενοῦφικ, wife of Ἐριεῦς, **312.[4]**, 21

Τανεφρίμμικ, daughter of Πάσεικ, **2.9**, 26

Ταπιᾶμικ, sister of Πανεφρέμμικ, daughter of Ὀννώφρικ, grand-
daughter of Τεκενοῦφικ, wife of [Τεκεν]οῦφικ, mother of
Ὀννώφρικ, **2.3**, 10, 12, 20, 22, back

Τασῶκικ, wife of Παπείς, **313.[3]**, 11, [14], 16, 22

Τεκενοῦφικ, daughter of Πανεφρίμμικ, granddaughter of Παπείς,
312.[2], [6], 11, [12], 16, 21

Τεκενοῦφικ, father of Στοτοῆτικ, son of Πανεφρέμμικ, **2.2**, 22

Τεκενοῦφικ, father of Ὀννώφρικ, grandfather of Πανεφρέμμικ and
Ταπιᾶμικ, **2.[3-4]**, 29

Τεεῆς, son of Νεσθνήφικ, **2.8**, [25]

Corrections to published documents

<i>BGU</i> I 350.9-10	see 2.12-14n.
<i>BGU</i> I 350.15-16	see 2.16-17n.
<i>CPR</i> I 220.6-10	see 2.16-17n.
<i>P.Flor.</i> III 302.7	see 312.3n.
<i>P.Lond.</i> II 140.23-25	see 2.16-17n.
<i>PSI</i> XIII 1320.8	see 2.8n.
<i>PSI</i> XIII 1320.11-12	see 2.16-17n.
<i>PSI</i> XIII 1320.16	see 2.18n.
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 161.19	see 2.16-17n.
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 161.18	see 2.16-17n.
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 162.31-32	see 2.17-18n.

NIKOS LITINAS

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(to Litinas, "Three Sales ...")

Plate 7



P.Fantoni inv. 2

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P.Ryl. II 312

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(to Litinas, "Three Sales ...")

Plate 9



P.Ryl. II 313

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University Librarian, the John Rylands University Library of
Manchester)

A Papyrus Tag?

P.Fantoni inv. 1¹

2.3 x 9.7 cm

Second half II A.D.

Plate 10

Provenance unknown

This is a medium brown, long strip of papyrus of moderate quality well preserved and written on both sides in a quick cursive hand. The text on the front side runs parallel to the fibers. A vertical sheet-join (*kolleisis*) can be easily seen in the middle of the papyrus. There are four horizontal folds at 2.8 cm, 4.9 cm, 6.7 cm and 7.8 cm from the top edge. Just below the second and fourth folding the scribe has written two dots. The top margin measures 1.2 cm and the lower one 5.2 cm. There is practically no right-hand margin because the text continues up to the edge.

The back contains 9 lines written against the fibers by a different hand; this can be easily established because letters such as alpha, epsilon and theta have different shapes. The back is written only on the attached companion sheet of the front and it is difficult to say whether the text was written before or after the present piece of papyrus was cut. Certainly the text on the back was written before the text on the front, because the scribe: (1) has tried to delete some words by drawing strokes on top of them, and (2) repaired the papyrus by pasting two small strips (ca. 0.3 x 1.5 cm) at the first folding where the papyrus was broken. As a result, these pieces covered some letters of the text in two lines. For the practice of strengthening papyrus sheets with strips already in antiquity, see *P.Coll.Youtie* I 19, p. 174; *P.Col.* X 265, introd., p. 65; *P.Graux.* II 15, introd., p. 43.

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Georgina Fantoni, who very kindly offered me this which belongs to her private collection for publication, and Professor D. Hagedorn for his notes and suggestions.

Hence, we can assume that this piece was cut off from a papyrus roll (not needed anymore) and more specifically from an blank intercolumnar section of the front, which contained a sheet-join.

Regarding its later use we can make only assumptions:

(A) The text on the front is probably a tag attached to either a roll to show the sender (two persons) and the receiver (strategos) of an official petition as a sillybus (or a book as a present?); or a container (box, envelope); see E.G. Turner and P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. BICS Supp. 46 (London 1987²) 34, Plates 6-8, 10. However, the other tags, preserved thus far, which were attached to a documentary roll,² give more details than merely the receiver and sender of the roll and the text is written along the length and not the width of the papyrus. Moreover, I assume that the first and the third folds were formed during the first use of the papyrus. After this piece was cut off from a larger piece or a roll, it was folded up in the middle and this created the second fold. Then, the text was written on the upper half part and just below the second fold the scribe wrote a dot. Subsequently, the bottom half was folded almost in the middle and so the fourth fold was formed; below it the scribe wrote another dot. The bottom part of this tag was ready to be glued on the roll or the box or to be inserted—not permanently—somewhere between the windings of a papyrus roll.

(B) The pieces was merely cut off by someone in the office of the strategos as scratch paper to note the details of a petition (a reminder for himself?) while searching for the petition itself in the office archives.

Regarding the context of this roll (if not box), we could think of a variety of rolls that were sent to the office of the nome strategi. They were the recipients of the registrations of animals, census returns, tax registers, etc.

The hands could be dated on palaeographical grounds in the second half of the second century A.D.; cf. Seider, *Paläographie der Griechischen Papyri* (Stuttgart 1967) I, no. 35 (147 A.D.); Montev-

² See T. Dorandi, "Sillyboi," S & C 8 (1984) 185-99. For a literary sillybus, see R. Chatzilambrou, "A Book-Label of Demosthenes, XXII," *APF* 48.2 (2002) 210-12.

chi, *La papirologia* (Milan 1988²), tav. 54 (after 160 A.D.); tav. 56 (174 A.D.); 59 (c. 180 A.D.).

The text runs as follows:

Front —>

	Ἀπίωνι	To Apion
	στρατηγῷ	strategos
	παρὰ Ἀπολ()	from Apol()
4	το(ῦ) Θεώνος	son of Theon
	καὶ Θεών(ος)	and Theon
	το(ῦ) Ἀπόλ()	son of Apol()

3 ἀπο^λ 4 τ^ο 5 Θεων 6 τ^ο ἀπο^λ

1-2 Ἀπίωνι στρατηγῷ: In Bastianini-Whitehorn, *Strategi and Royal Scribes*. Pap.Flor. 15 (Florence 1987), there are several strategi with the name Apion. The possible identifications from the entire second century A.D. are the following:

* Oxyrhynchite: *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2852.1 and XLVI 3275.1 (104/105 A.D. and 103-117A.D.). *Ibid.* 91.

* Arsinoite nome, division of Herakleides: *BGU* III 832.[2] (cf. *BL* I, 70); I 22.1 (cf. *BL* I, 433); *P.Fam.Tebt.* 24.85 = *SB* IV 7404 (113-4 A.D.). *Ibid.* 24.

* Unknown nome: *P.Lond.* II 257 (p. 135).132-3, 269-70 (I/II A.D.). *Ibid.* 113

* Antaiopolite nome: *P.Oxy.* I 57.2 (before 7.7.195 A.D.). *Ibid.* 16.

3-6 παρὰ Ἀπολ() το(ῦ) Θεώνος καὶ Θεώνος το(ῦ) Ἀπόλ(): Even though the names Apollos or Apollonios and Theon are very common in the papyri of the Graeco-Roman period, there are not many father-son examples such as this within the second century; cf. only *P.Oxy.* III 492, *passim* (130 A.D.; Oxyrhynchos) and *PSI* XII 1263.33 (166-7 A.D.; Oxyrhynchos) for Apollonios, son of Theon, and

BGU IX 1891.375 (134 A.D.; Theadelphia), *P.Oxy.Hels.* 20.15 (138 A.D.; Oxyrhynchos), *O.Bodl.* II 1410.3 (150 A.D.; Thebes); and *P.Berl.Frisk* 1.24 (155 A.D.; Arsinoite nome), *P.Oxy.* XLI 2980.14 (II A.D.; Oxyrhynchos) for Theon son of Apollonios. Cf. also Apollos son of Theon in *O.Bodl.* II 1380.3 and 1389.5 (147 A.D.; Thebes).

Back —>

Two lines erased

vacat

4 ὦρος

[] πολ

[] παρὰ [

Ἀπολ .

8 [.....]

vacat

] Θεων . [

] Cαραπίω[

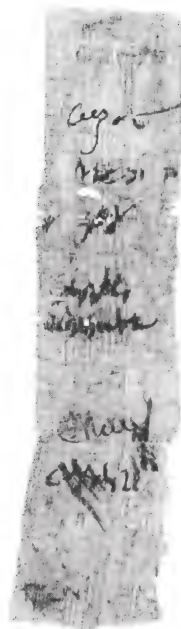
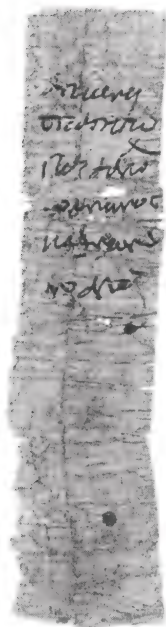
ink

NIKOS LITINAS

University of Crete

(to Litinas, "A Papyrus Tag?")

Plate 10



P.Fantoni inv. 1
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Georgina Fantoni)

Qualitative Distinctions for ἔλαιον (Oil) and ψωμίον (Bread)

The word ἔλαιον ("oil" or "vegetable oil") is, understandably, generally taken to mean "olive oil."¹ That may be the case in Greece, Palestine and other sites in the Near East where the olive was the predominant source for its production. In Egypt, however, the olive was not native, and when it was introduced under the Ptolemies and Romans, it had to compete with other oils made from a variety of vegetable seeds. There the word ἔλαιον was applied to oils made from both the fruit of the olive tree and also the seeds of the castor plant, the sesame and safflower, and the radish.² Under Roman rule, the popular vegetable oils of Ptolemaic Egypt (castor, sesame, safflower) gave way to two, olive and radish oil, as can be observed in Diocletian's Edict of Prices. The Edict provides prices for three grades of olive oil (ὀμφακίνου/ *olei floris*, δευτέρου γεύματος/ *sequentis*, and χυδαίου/ *cibari*) and one of radish oil (ἐλαίου ῥαφανίνου).³

The documents from Roman Egypt do not reflect a graded system for the quality of its olive oil, but in order to distinguish it from other oils—especially radish oil, which was widely used in Roman

¹ Much in the same way when one orders "oil and vinegar" as a salad dressing. Olive oil is almost always provided, but some prefer other vegetable oils, such as canola or soy, to go along with the vinegar.

² On oils in the Ptolemaic period, see D. Brent Sandy, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt*. BASP Supplements, 6 (Atlanta 1989).

³ S. Lauffer (ed.), *Diokletians Preisedikt* III.4 (Berlin 1971) 102-3. Cf. *SHA* XIII.9 (*Claudius*) in a (fictitious?) letter concerning supplies of oil which were to be supplied on an annual basis, "one hundred and fifty sextarii of good oil, and six hundred sextarii of the second grade" (*olei boni sextarios centum quinquaginta, olei secundi sextarios sescentos*).

Egypt⁴—and to make sure that the ἔλαιον being referred to was olive oil, the adjective χρητὸν was sometimes applied.⁵ However, in Roman Palestine and Syria this was not the case, for here we find that ἔλαιον χρητὸν indicated a quality of olive oil superior to that called ἔλαιον κιβάριον. As for ψωμίον, the same distinctions apply. In documents dealing with Egypt, ψωμίον appears unqualified by an adjective, while in Palestine and Syria we find ψωμίον καθαρὸν distinguished from ψωμίον κιβάριον. We shall consider ψωμίον further below.

A search of the DDBDP (CD #7) for ἐλαι- χρητ- in either order produced 23 citations in 19 documents.⁶ Since most were taken as expenditures for quantities of olive oil, the editors offer no comment on the application of the word χρητὸν to ἔλαιον. However, *P.Oxy.* XII 1455, a declaration of an oil seller dated to 275 A.D., provides an opportunity to examine the term in a meaningful context. The person making the declaration is described (line 5) as a πρᾶτης ἐλαίου χρητοῦ, which the editor translates as a "seller of fine oil." The seller, the owner of an oil-producing factory, swears that he will provide the city with (line 10) ἔλαιον χρητὸν ("fine oil") on a daily basis.⁷ The translation "fine oil" does not make it clear that the seller guarantees to sell olive oil rather than some other oil, say, radish oil. The phrase only attests either that (a) his factory may be producing an oil of high quality, not necessarily olive oil, or (b), to the contrary, that it assures that olive oil will be produced and not

⁴ See my recent article "Radish Oil: A Phenomenon in Roman Egypt," *BASP* 38 (2001) 109-17.

⁵ Two Ptolemaic documents (*P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59681.10 and 59682.r.7) mention ἔλαιον ὁμφάκινον. Despite a wide variety of vegetable oils in use under the Ptolemies, the term χρητὸν was not applied to olive oil or to any other oil.

⁶ *BGU* I 14.4.20; 34.5.21; *P.Abinn.* 66.3.52, 54 and 72.2; *P.Bad.* IV 54.8; *P.Dubl.* 16.2.2; *P.Lund.* IV 7; *P.Oxy.* VI 937.27; XII 1455.5; *P.Ross.Georg.* V 5.9; *P.Ryl.* IV 627.8.186; 629.r.5.116, v.5.354; 630.5.155, 212; 6.256; 639.r.6.96, v.208; *PSI* VIII 830.2.45, 47; *P.Stras.* IV 299.v.10; *SPP* XXII 56.2.15, 183.5.101.

⁷ In his note to line 10, the editor states, "...olive oil or sesame oil is probably meant; cf. *P.Gen.* 63.iii [= *P.Abinn.* 66.3.50], where ἔλ. χρ. is opposed to ἔλ. ῥαφάνινον, and Reil, *Beiträge*, 137-8." Cf. The translation of *P.Oxy.* VI 937.27, "two cotylae of good oil."

some other vegetable oil. The difficulty here lies in a certain amount of ambiguity in the meaning of the word when associated with a vegetable oil.

The lead definition of χρηστός in *LSJ*⁹ is given as "of things, like χρήσιμος, *useful, good of its kind, serviceable*." Does "good of its kind" mean "good" when compared with other olive oils? Or "good" when compared to other vegetable oils? Of the 23 citations of ἐλαι-χρηστ- in the DDBDP, six appear in documents which also deal with Egyptian radish oil.⁸ It is evident that in these six instances, oil was designated χρηστόν in order to make sure that olive oil was not to be confused with radish oil, an inferior vegetable oil.

The preference for an oil other than radish oil can be observed in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Migne, PG 75.145a) in an incident recounted by Benjamin, presbyter of the Kellia in Scete when he came upon an aged hermit.⁹ Benjamin goes on to relate that the old man

bade us to have something to eat. He served us radish oil and we said to him, 'rather than this, give us a small amount of good oil.' Upon hearing this, he crossed himself and said, 'If there is any other oil, I do not know it.'

(...ἐκράτησεν ἡμᾶς φαγεῖν. ἔβαλε δὲ ἡμῖν ῥαφανέλαιον. Καὶ λέγομεν αὐτῷ: 'Πάτερ, μᾶλλον μικρὸν χρήσιμον ἐλαιον βάλε ἡμῖν.' Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας, ἐσφράγισεν ἑαυτόν, λέγων· 'Εἴ ἐστιν ἄλλο ἐλαιον ἐκτός, οὐκ οἶδα ἐγώ.')

The presbyter obviously showed his preference for something better than radish oil. The oil that was "good of its kind" (χρήσιμον in this context) undoubtedly was olive oil. In the Egyptian documents ἐλαιον χρηστόν denotes "olive oil;" it is a good oil in the sense that as an oil, it is qualitatively superior to other vegetable oils.¹⁰

⁸ *BGU* I 14.4.21, 34.5.20; *P.Abinn.* 66.2.47; *P.Bad.* IV 54.6; *P.Lund.* IV 11.16; *P.Stras.* IV 299.v.11.

⁹ On this text, see my observations also in *BASP* 38 (2001) 112.

¹⁰ Three references to ἐλαιον καλόν crop up in the documents, of which two appear to signify olive oil of a superior quality. In *P.Iand.* IV 67.2 (VII/VIII), a fragment listing a number of items, the cost for an unknown quantity of ἐλαίου καλοῦ is given as one solidus. In the accounts of Theophanes, *P.Ryl.* IV 627.8.164, we note the purchase (in Egypt or en route to Antioch?) of ἐλαίου καλοῦ καψά(κης). *SB* XIV 12050 (498 A.D.), on the other hand, is a lease of a large tract of land for which rent was to be paid including, among a variety of other agricul-

Eight other citations of ἔλαιον χρηστόν appear in *P.Ryl.* IV, in the accounts of the expenditures of a certain Theophanes, a *scholasticus* in government service, who was commissioned, sometime between the years 317 and 323, to travel from Egypt to Antioch on official business and to return. Of the eight examples, one, *P.Ryl.* 627.8.186, was a purchase of ἔλαιον χρηστόν in Egypt; the other seven represent purchases of χρηστόν oil outside of Egypt en route to Antioch. Of these seven, three represent purchases of oil at a high price even taking inflation into consideration. In *P.Ryl.* 629.354, the sum of 1,000 drs. was paid for a xestes of χρηστόν oil; in 629.116 and 639v.5.208, and expenditure of 1,200 drs. was made for an unstated amount of similar oil. In 630/637.256, [ἐλαί]ου χρηστοῦ ξ(έκτ.) is recorded; in 639.6.96 we read ἐλαίου χρηστοῦ ξ(έκτ.) α. These five citations suggest that a high price was paid for a small quantity of χρηστόν oil.¹¹ The remaining two citations, 627.8.186 and 630/637.155, provide no additional information. What is evident is that within Palestine and Syria χρηστόν oil was olive oil of a grade superior to that called ἔλαιον κιβάριον, which appears twenty-two times as expenditures for Theophanes' slaves who accompanied him.¹² The price for this common grade of oil ranged (with one exception of 900) from 400 to 700 drs. for an amount that is unspecified, but surely is much more than a xestes since it had to serve the needs of the entire entourage.

We have noted above that the ἔλαιον χρηστόν in Egypt indicated olive oil rather than some other vegetable oil, and we cited its appearance in *P.Ryl.* IV 627.8.186 and in other Egyptian documents. As Theophanes made his way out of Egypt and into Palestine and Syria, we can observe a clear qualitative distinction between the χρηστόν and κιβάριον categories of oil. The application of

tural products and animals, an amount of radish oil (ράφανέλαιον) "in (radish) oil that was the best and tasty" (line 15, ἐν ἐλαίῳ καλλίστῳ καὶ εὐαρέστῳ).

¹¹ ἐλαίου [χρηστο]ῦ υ of 630/637.212, concerning which the editor states that 400 drs. is a low price in contrast to the others, requires reexamination, since the lacuna may be restored not as χρηστοῦ but as [κιβαρίο]υ.

¹² 629.2.25, 3.62, 4.99, 5.128, 7.175; 629.v.1.232, 2.278, 4.332, 5.377; 630/637.39, 162, 248, 322, 356, 389, 465, 480, 507; 639.5.67, v.3.58, 5.209, 7.235.

the adjective κιβάριον to ἔλαιον bears with it the associated meanings of "plain," "ordinary," "common," borrowed from the Latin *cibarius*.¹³ Of the three grades of olive oil cited in Diocletian's Edict on Prices, the cheapest was χυδαῖον/ *oleum cibarium*—Hellenized in Palestine and Syria as ἔλαιον κιβάριον—which undoubtedly represented the final pressing of the olive or oil made from damaged olives. As for χρηστόν oil, all that can be said is that it was "good" oil—not the best, but not the worst.¹⁴

When we turn to ψωμίον the situation with respect to distinctions among different grades changes dramatically, not so much on the basis of the general run of documents, in which the term appears almost always without an adjectival qualifier, but in the detailed expense accounts of Theophanes, where we find expenditures τιμῆς ψωμίων. These are of two kinds, one for καθαρά ψωμία and the other for κιβάρια τοῖς παιδίοις. Citations in the four accounts are numerous: for καθαρά ψωμία some 54; for κιβάρια τοῖς παιδίοις some 57. Most of these expenditures take place outside Egypt, almost on a daily basis, as would be needed to provide fresh bread for Theophanes, his associates, and his slaves. What is surprising is that only two purchases of bread were made before Theophanes left Egypt (627.4.70-1) for καθαρά and κιβάρια and (627v.3.253) for κιβάρια, and two when Theophanes had returned (630/637.520) for ψωμία and 538 for κιβάρια. The remaining purchases were made en route to, and returning from, Antioch.

It is immediately apparent that there is a specific qualitative distinction between the bread that was purchased for Theophanes and his associates and that bought for his slaves, a distinction char-

¹³ The editor of Theophanes' itinerary rightly remarks (p. 104), "It is interesting to see how *cibarius* (used in its ordinary sense *cibaria*—victuals, rations) is employed in an extended sense to express quality, or its absence; that it is used as an adjective qualifying all kinds of supplies and meaning 'cheap,' 'ordinary,' 'utility.'" The word was rarely used in the Egyptian documents (see *P.Lond.* III 1159.8 [145-7 A.D.] and *P.Petaus.* 45.1 [185 A.D.], both modifying ἄρτου). A search of the TLG (CD #E) for κιβαρι- produced only one citation, in a medical writer.

¹⁴ Cf. the expenditures εἰς ἄριστον in *P.Ryl.* 627.5.105, 114; v.3.251 and in 629.v.6.382, 395 and 630/637.268, 289, 321, 386, 412.

acterized by the use of καθαρόν and κιβάριον. Citing Cicero *Tusc.* 5.34.97 and Isidore, *Orig. s.v. panis cibarius*, the editor of *P.Ryl.* IV 627.70 (p. 122, note to line 71), suggests that κιβάριον designated bread of a coarse variety, and regarding 629 that ψωμίον καθαρόν was "pure white bread" (p. 131, n. 10). The latter suggestion of "pure white bread" for ψωμίον καθαρόν is highly unlikely, since white bread, a rather modern innovation, requires wheat flour that is highly processed and bleached.¹⁵ On the other hand, ψωμίον κιβάριον can be a coarse bread, but that description does not tell us what makes bread coarse and how it is different from ψωμίον καθαρόν. However, there is some evidence—in the absence of a source such as Diocletian's Edict on Prices—that points to ψωμίον κιβάριον as bread made out of barley or out of a mixture of barley and wheat. The provinces through which Theophanes and his entourage traversed were producers of good crops of barley (see Frank, *ESAR* IV 129), and its use for making a grade of bread fit for the poor, the unfortunate, or for slaves can be observed in the following literary sources.¹⁶

A near-contemporary of the peripatetic Theophanes was Libanius of Antioch, the well-known rhetorician and man of letters, in whose autobiographical oration there occurs a description of his depression following the death of his favorite teacher. "I began," he writes, "to frequent the living, mere shadows of teachers, as men eat loaves of barley bread for want of anything better" (*Or.* I.8.8: χρώμενος δὲ τοῖς οὖσιν, εἰδώλοις γέ τισι σοφιστῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῖς ἐκ κριθῶν ἄρτοις ἀπορία γε τοῦ βελτίονος, ἐπειδὴ ἥνυτον οὐδέν [Loeb trans.]).

At a later date, another distinguished sophist, Procopius of Gaza (ca. 450-526), writes to a certain Jerome, a sophist and teacher, who had left his native city of Elusa in the arid Negev of Palestina Tertia to practice his profession in Egypt but traveled

¹⁵ On relatively "white" breads in Greek and Roman antiquity, see L.A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1958) 153-8.

¹⁶ Pliny *NH* 18.74.5 could say *panem ex hordeo antiquis usitatum vita damnavit*, but it did not apply to others who were not of his social and economic standing.

back and forth to Elusa where his wife and child were living. Upon hearing Jerome's complaints about living conditions in Elusa, Procopius writes

You seem to me to be jesting when you complain about your native town. I would not deny that the air overhead is just as you say it happens to be, and those who drink of its water are reminded of the sea, and that our (wheat) bread is indiscriminately mixed with barley (ἄρτος ἡμῖν ἐκ κριθῆς εἰκῇ μεμιγμένον).¹⁷

Procopius' use of ἡμῖν, if intended literally, would indicate that bread laced with barley flour was not only common in the desert city of Elusa but also in urban Gaza.

An interesting reference to barley bread can be viewed in the Talmudic tractate "Sanhedrin" in which the Rabbinic authorities discuss the meaning of the Mishnaic statement that one who commits murder without witnesses is placed in a cell and fed with "the bread of adversity (לֶחֶם צָרָה) and the water of affliction." A consensus was reached among the authorities that the meaning of "bread of adversity" was "barley bread" (שֶׁעוֹרֵין). In other words, the prisoner was fed bread and water, and the "bread of misfortune" was barley bread.

There remains the question of what constituted ψωμίον καθαρόν. The word καθαρός, particularly when applied to wheat, is a defining term for this cereal. It means "clean" or "pure" (i.e. "unmixed") in the sense that the grain has been inspected, has been processed usually by sieving, and is free from all substances other than wheat. In the documents relating to Egypt proper, the word καθαρός is not applied to ἄρτος and rarely to ψωμίον,¹⁸ but

¹⁷ A.Garzya and R.-J. Loenertz (eds.), *Procopii Gazae Epistulae et Declamationes*, *Studia Patristica et Byzantina* 9 (1963), Ep. 2 (p. 4, line 17). See my article, "The City of Elusa in the Literary Sources of the Fourth-Sixth Century," *Israel Exploration Journal* 33 (1983) 250-1 (= P. Mayerson [ed.], *Monks, Martyrs, Soldiers and Saracens* [Jerusalem 1994] 200).

¹⁸ For ψωμίον καθαρόν DDBDP offers only one citation in *P.Lund.* IV 13.17. For ἄρτος καθαρός there are eleven documents, of which only four are of the Roman period (*P.Giss.* 14.5; *P.Lond.* III 1159.8; *P.Oxy.* IV 736.17, 26, 49, 53, 78, 80; XVI 2048.6. The editor of *P.Giss.* 14 translates ἄρτος καθαρός as "Weissbrot." Of greater interest is *P.Lond.* 1159 (145-7 A.D.), in which the town of Hermopolis assigns various people to provide ἄρτον καθαρόν καὶ κιβάριον for the upcoming

καθαρός in Theophanes' expense account clearly distinguishes the qualitative difference between the two kinds of ψωμία that were purchased for himself and for his slaves.

If, as indicated above, ψωμίον κιβάριον was a poor quality of bread baked from barley flour or a mixture of wheat and barley for people in unfortunate circumstances, ψωμίον καθαρὸν undoubtedly was a bread for those of better circumstances, such as Theophanes, who was accustomed to eat bread which was made from the best cereal for such purposes, namely wheat (πυρόσ/εἶτος).¹⁹ Although the documents other than those of *P.Ryl.* IV do not emphasize that ψωμία were baked with wheat flour—in Roman Egypt this must have been taken as a given—there is one document, *P.Lund.* IV 13, dated to 169/170 A.D., which unmistakably makes that point. The papyrus is a report to the police by a certain Aurelius Apollo, a baker in the household of an official named Alypius, to the effect that six artabas of wheat were stolen from the storage facility and the (loaves) of (wheat) bread that he made for the distinguished Alypius (lines 14-18: ... καὶ ἐβάταξαν ἀπὸ τοῦ | τόπου τοῦ θησαυροῦ | πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἑ[ξ καὶ] | ψωμίων καθα[ρῶν] .. , | ἃ ἐποίησα τῷ εὐσχή[μοι]νι ...).²⁰

To sum up, the expenses that Theophanes recorded for purchases of olive oil and bread, as he made his way on official business from Egypt through Palestine to Syrian Antioch and back, bring to light distinct qualitative differences that were generally absent in Egypt. In Egypt, the adjective χρηστὸν was in most instances applied to ἔλαιον in order to distinguish it from radish oil or some other vegetable oil. In Palestine and Syria, the term was applied to indicate an olive oil superior to, and more costly than,

visit of the Prefect of Egypt and his associates, and a poorer quality of bread for his slaves. The seven Ptolemaic documents are found in *P.Erasm.* I 14; *P.Petr.* II 25.Fr.A.8 (trans. "whole-meal bread"); *P.Tebt.* II 468.1; *SB* XVI 12375.38, 121; *UPZ* 89.8 ("Feinbrote" citing Reil, *Gewerbes*, 157), 94.17, 96.5.

¹⁹ Cf. Eusebius, *E.H.* 3.36.11, quoting Irenaeus (5.28) regarding a statement of a Christian condemned to martyrdom: εἰμὶ θεοῦ καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθουμαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὕρεθῶ ("I am the wheat of God, and I am ground by the teeth of beasts that I may be found pure bread" [Loeb trans.]).

²⁰ The editor of *P.Lund.* 13 translates ψωμίον καθαρὸν as "Weissbrötchen."

έλαιον κιβάριον, a grade of oil which Diocletian's Edict on Prices declared to be the poorest and cheapest of three grades. For bread (ψωμίον) the differences are even more distinct. When the adjectives καθαρόν and κιβάριον are applied to the word, the difference in the quality of the two breads is determined by whether wheat (flour) or barley (flour), or a mixture of the two, was used in the baking process. In the Egyptian documents, we have only one citation in *P.Lund.* 13 for ψωμίον καθαρόν; two, if we cite (see note 18, above) *P.Lond.* III 1159.8 datable to 145-147 A.D. (ἄρτου καθαροῦ καὶ κιβαρίου).

The question of why Egypt made no qualitative distinctions in these two basic commodities is an open one, especially in light of the pricing in Diocletian's Edict on Prices of olive oil in terms of three qualitative grades. Along the same lines, why do the documents normally reflect no differences in the production of Egyptian bread for diverse social classes?²¹ This writer has no answer to these questions other than speculation.

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²¹ A Ptolemaic document, *UPZ* 94.2.17 (159/158 B.C.), allocates two kinds of bread for the Isis festival, ἄρτους καθαρούς and ἄρτους ἰδιωτικούς. The editor translates the latter as "Grobbröte." *LSJ*⁹, citing the document, has "common." I believe that the distinction between the two kinds of bread relates to the two social classes, the free and the slave, as we can observe in the Theophanes expense sheets.

P.Oxy. IV 708: δείγματα Found to Be οὐ καθαρά and Their Implications

It is well known that shipments of grain, especially those designated for the annona, carried samples (δείγματα) provided by an official of a granary, certifying that they represented the quality of the entire amount being transported. At a minimum, that quality was defined as καθαρός, virtually a trade term indicating that the designated grain (wheat or barley) was free of extraneous substances. Despite hundreds of shipments accompanied by one or more samples recorded in the papyri, *P.Oxy.* IV 708, dated to 188 A.D., stands alone in describing the δείγματα of two grain shipments that upon examination by an official were found to be deficient. The papyrus, on the verso of a grain account, consists of two letters from the examining official (lines 1-14 and 15-24, of which 1-14 is best preserved in terms of details).¹

Wilcken (*Chrest.* 432) re-edited 708, supplying the title of "procurator" for the official, Antonius Aelianus, and arguing that the shipments from the Diospolite nome had arrived at the state granary at Neapolis near Alexandria. In addition, he emended χι(λιάρχου) in line 13 to read χει(ρισμοῦ). More importantly for the subject of this article, Wilcken describes the method which he believed was used to inspect the δείγματα (p. 508):

Der Text ist lehrreich für die Prüfung des nach Alexandrien gesandten Korns. Zunächst findet eine δειγμάτων ἄρσις statt, was ich deuten möchte als Aufheben von Proben, offenbar eine vorläufige Prüfung des Getreides, bei dem man einzelne Proben aufhebt und durch die Hand laufen lässt.

Taking into consideration that we are dealing with an unknown number of samples in a shipment of 2,000 artabas of wheat, some

¹ It would appear to this writer that the untitled official, Antonius Aelianus, or his secretary, had composed drafts, rather than copies, of these two letters. Both letters were to be sent to the Diospolite nome regarding the faulty contents of the two shipments.

50 tons, the method of inspection proposed by Wilcken appears too inexpert. Whatever made the inspector (δειγματοάρτης?) suspicious of the samples, whether by hefting or weighing them, or by running his fingers through the samples, his experience led him to believe that the shipment of wheat was οὐ καθαρός, i.e. that it did not consist only of wheat.² Accordingly, Antonius Aelianus (lines 6-9) "ordered that the amount of barley and earth in half an artaba of it should be ascertained, and it proved to be under measure by 2% of barley and likewise 1/2% of earth." He then directed that the sitologi who had shipped the wheat make up the measurable difference (i.e. 2.5% of the 2,000 artabas) plus extra payments and other expenses in the amount of 50 3/4 artabas, which were to be added to the total.³

There are several questions associated with this document that stirred the interest of this writer. One concern is the 50 3/4 art. that was to be added to the 2,000. Would it be checked to see if it were καθαρός? Another concerns the 2,000 artabas of wheat, classified as οὐ καθαραί that, following the course set by Wilcken, would be shipped as is (i.e. οὐ καθαραί) to Rome. If this is so, it raises a number of other questions: would other δειγματα accompanying the shipment certify that the wheat was καθαρός? Or would the shippers declaration indicate that the 2,000 artabas were οὐ καθαραί?

² The samples of a shipment of 250 artabas cited in the second letter of the papyrus (lines 17ff.) were also found to be οὐ καθαρὰ in the amount of 1.25% barley and an unknown percentage of earth. In grain transactions of this kind, καθαρός has the meaning of "pure," rather "clean" as it is often translated. If it meant "clean" there would be no need to add the adjectives that guaranteed that the wheat or barley was free of substances that made it unclean. A good example can be found in *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2670.7-8, a receipt from a shipper or the captain of a vessel, to the effect that his cargo was made up of "pure wheat" (πυροῦ καθαρῶ), that it was "unadulterated" ([ἀδό]λου), "without dirt" (ἀβώλου), "without barley" (ἀκρίθου), "sieved" (κεκοκινευ[μέ]νου), and "winnowed" (λελυμημένου).

³ The 2.5% of 2,000 represented 50 artabas; the 3/4 artaba probably made up for the 1/2 artaba used for testing the shipment, plus 1/4 for other expenses. The half-artaba undoubtedly served as a working sample which could be sieved to arrive at the figure of 2% barley and 1/2% dirt. The 2.5% was then assessed proportionately over the original shipment.

Or would the 2,000 artabas of wheat be unloaded into a granary at Neapolis where they would be cleansed (through καθαρισμός) of barley and dirt? However, with regard to the latter, the καθαρισμός of grains, although prominent in Ptolemaic documents, is conspicuously absent in the Roman period.⁴ There is no clear answer to these questions, but removing the contaminating substances from some 50 tons of wheat through meticulous sieving would be a laborious and expensive task. According to *P.Oxy.* IV 708, the Diospolite nome was only penalized (or taxed) by being compelled to replace the estimated 50 artabas of wheat, which was taken up by the 2.5% barley and 1/2% dirt. I suspect that 2,000 artabas of grain, or somewhat less, ultimately made its way to the port of Rome certified as καθαρόν.

Shipments of grain, whether in sacks or in bulk, are rarely, if ever, free from foreign matter. Even when sieved, small seeds of weeds pass through the apertures, as do fine bits of soil and debris from mud-brick silos, as well as wind-borne contaminants (e.g. sand) during winnowing.⁵ Barley occurring with wheat after sieving is a different matter. As a hulled grain, barley, because of its size and weight, can easily be separated from wheat when put through a sieve. The sieve, if adjusted to allow the wheat to fall through its openings, keeps barley and other large contaminants within it so that they can be cast aside. If a fine sieve is used, barley will rise to the top of the sieve and be skimmed off.

The investigation of the δείγματα from Diospolis leads to other questions. Were all δείγματα investigated in the same thorough manner as those in *P.Oxy.* 708, or were they only spot-checked? Were only those checked, as appears to be the case with Diospolis, that had a bad track record? What can be said with more certainty is that the investigating official, Antonius Aelianus, seemed less interested in how καθαρόν the shipment was than in guaranteeing that the weight of the entire shipment at least matched the bill of

⁴ *P.Sorb.* 60.8, dated to the fifth century (?), is a rare exception.

⁵ In modern milling techniques, all grain is washed, brushed, and scoured before being crushed so as to remove contaminants.

lading when it was to be examined and checked by the *mensores frumentarii* at the port in Rome.⁶

The job of the *mensores frumentarii*, as indicated by their title, was to measure (i.e. "weigh") all shipments of grain (in sacks or in bulk) being unloaded at port to verify that they matched the accompanying bills of lading. In the view of G. Rickman (*The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome* [Oxford 1980] 20) they "had to measure carefully all the corn, and *perhaps check its quality* [my emphasis]."⁷ It is doubtful whether, in the press of weighing tons of grain, the *mensores* could pay much attention to quality unless a shipment was egregiously misrepresented, say, barley in place of wheat. The 2,000+ artabas of οὐ καθαρὸς wheat sent from Diospolis probably passed through the hands of the *mensores* without comment.

What would happen if the οὐ καθαρὸς wheat from Diospolis were distributed to the populace of Rome? In all likelihood, it would not be the first time the recipients had received a distribution of grain that was contaminated. In 188 A.D., the date of *P.Oxy.* IV 708, distributions were in the form of grain, and recipients would have no difficulty in screening out the undesirable elements before milling. As for the barley that might be found mixed in with the wheat, that too had value as food and could be put to use. However, at some time during the reign of the emperor Aurelian, bread, baked by officially recognized bakers, was distributed in place of grain (Rickman, *op.cit.*, 205-7). Were the bakers, who received their allotments from the *mensores*, under compulsion to see to it that the grain was καθαρὸς before or after milling it, and, if it was not, did they sieve out foreign material? Judging from two rescripts in the

⁶ Another method of ensuring "honest measurement" turns up in *P.Oxy.* XII 1447, dated to 44 A.D., in which 11 1/4 artabas of wheat were submitted by a woman to a sitologus who found them lacking. In compensation for the short measure (ἀντὶ κακομετρίας) the woman was required to provide an additional 4% (ἐκατοστῶν [τ]εσσαράων; read: ἐκατοστὰς [τ]εσσαράας) or 0.45 artaba. As in the case of *P.Oxy.* IV 708, the penalty, if it was such, was not severe. It appears that the sitologus was only interested in getting the declared full weight.

⁷ What was described as "perhaps" by Rickman becomes more certain on p. 80: "... on arrival at Ostia or Puteoli, it [the corn] must be carefully measured and weighed to assess both quantity and quality."

Theodosian Code, it appears that they were not, and that the bread they turned out was of poor quality.

Cod.Theod. 14.15.1, dated to 364 A.D., attempts to remedy the problem of poor quality bread (*pessimus panis*) by lowering the price of grain. The decree directs the *mensores* and the *caudicarii* (men of the grain barges) to sell 200,000 *modii* of pure and unspoiled grain (*frumenti integri adque intemerati*) at lower prices to the bread-bakers.⁸ *Cod.Theod.* 14.17.5, dated to 369 A.D., takes a more radical stance in attempting to improve bread quality by changing the number and weight of loaves previously distributed to a smaller number of loaves of high quality bread.

The Roman citizens formerly purchased fifty ounces in twenty loaves of "coarse bread" (*panibus sordidis*) ... but now they shall obtain thirty-six ounces in six loaves of "fine bread" (*in bucellis ... mundis*) without payment ...⁹

The intent of *Cod.Theod.* 14.15.1 was to sell 200,000 *modii* of pure and unspoiled grain at a lower price and thereby induce the bakers to produce a more acceptable bread. However, the bakers presumably had been purchasing pure and unspoiled grain from the *mensores* but using it to turn out *pessimus panis*. Would the lower price move them to turn out a better bread? Five years later, we find the public bakers still producing a bread characterized as *sordidus*.

Cod.Theod. 14.17.5, in using the terms *sordidus* and *mundus*, is more direct in describing the difference in quality between two kinds of bread. Taken literally, the two words are antonyms: *sordidus*, "foul with dirt, dirty, full of dirt or impurities;" *mundus*, "free from dirt or impurities, clean." A more apt translation of *panis sordidus* would be "gritty bread" rather than, as above, "coarse bread."

⁸ Although this rescript is phrased as if to prevent the possibility of *pessimus panis* from being distributed, it is undoubtedly a statement of an existing condition. The words *frumenti integri adque intemerati* are the Latin counterpart of πυρροῦ καθαρῶ.

⁹ C. Pharr's translation of *The Theodosian Code* (New York 1900) 418. The quotation marks are mine.

As for *panis mundus*, the translation "fine bread" is misleading. It means "bread, made solely from wheat."¹⁰

The rescript also makes clear that the six loaves weighing thirty-six ounces of bread free from dirt or other impurities would be substituted for the twenty *sordidi* loaves weighing fifty ounces that were formerly purchased. The rescript implies that dirt and impurities would be removed by greater care in the milling and sieving processes.

To sum up, *P.Oxy.* IV 708 reports an official's inspection of δειγµατα which were found to be οὐ καθαρὰ. His findings that the samples contained percentages of barley and dirt rendered the shipment of wheat from the Diospolite nome "not pure" or "spoiled." The remedy applied by the examining official was to add 50+ artabas to the shipment to make up for the spoilage. It was the consequences of this remedy that raised a number of questions. Since no attempt was made to cleanse the shipment of the spoilage, it appeared that it would make its way to the port of Rome where it would be weighed by the *mensores* to check, not so much its quality but whether it met the weight indicated in the bill of lading. Once approved by the *mensores*, the contaminated grain would be distributed to the populace and, at a later stage, to the officially designated bankers.

If contaminated shipments of grain passed through the hands of inspectors of δειγµατα and *mensores*, this raises further questions regarding the meaning of the term καθαρός which is generally applied to grain shipments. A closer examination of the process of preparing grain for shipment—threshing, winnowing, transferring grain to and from granaries, sacking, etc.—shows that it is virtually

¹⁰ E. Tengström, *Bread for the People: Study of the Corn Supply of Rome during the Late Empire* (Stockholm 1974) 80 suggests that the two terms indicated the difference between dark bread (*sordidus*) and white bread (*mundus*). Tengström also calls our attention to the *Variae* 6.18.1 of Cassiodorus, in which we learn that the *praefectus annonae* was supposed to visit the bakeries and check the weight and quality of the bread (*pensum et munditiam panis exigit*). Quality control, apparently, was a continuing problem, and judging from continued complaints (see Symmachus, *Ep.* 6.14.2 for the year 396) may never have been resolved.

impossible to prevent an accumulation of substances other than wheat. As a consequence, the term καθάρος applied to grain cannot be taken as "simon pure," completely free of foreign substances. An inspector of δείγματα must have been aware of this and must have used his judgment as to the degree of contamination he found in the samples. We must also not overlook the possibility that samples accompanying shipments were "doctored" by removing offending organic and inorganic material. Perhaps that is the reason why, with the exception of *P.Oxy.* IV 708 no other examples of contaminated shipments have come to light.

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An Insight into *P.Oxy.* XIV 1902 by Way of 2021

P.Oxy. XVI 1902 came to the attention of this writer quite by accident as a result of stumbling upon a note in *P.Oxy.* XII 1447 (44 A.D.) concerning μ[έτρῳ] τῷ καγκέλλῳ that reads in its last line (p. 132): "In an unpublished Byzantine tax-receipt from Oxyrhynchus 226 artabae cíτου καγκέλλου = 200 art. καθαροῦ." With the help of Professor Roger S. Bagnall, I found the receipt published as *P.Oxy.* XVI 1902, dated to the early VI century, without any comment on how 226 artabae cíτου καγκέλλου equalled 200 art. cíτου καθαροῦ. My interest in this phrase was stirred by an article I had recently written on κριθολογία in which *P.Oxy.* 2021 (VI/VII) played a prominent role.¹

Briefly put, *P.Oxy.* XVI 2021 lists receipts to account for 11,077 artabas of grain: 10,010 of cíτος καθαρός for the embole of the thirteenth indiction; 925 ὑπὲρ κριθολογίας; 50 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειζοτέρου; and 92 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ciτομέτρου. The total of 11,077 is then given (line 6) in terms of cíτου ρυπαρ(οῦ) κ(αγκέλλῳ) (ἀρτάβαι). In other words, *P.Oxy.* 2021 is a simple account of four deductions from a total amount of cíτου ρυπαροῦ καγκέλλῳ (uncleansed grain by the *cancel-lus* measure) primarily to rationalize the figure of 10,010 artabas of grain (i.e. wheat) certified as καθαρός. The cíτος καθαρός was produced by κριθολογία, the process of collecting and eliminating barley (and other unwanted substances) from uncleansed grain, most likely by sieving. The total charges of 1,067 artabas represented 9.6% of the total 11,077, or, paraphrasing the note in *P.Oxy.* 1447, with one omission, 11,077 artabae cíτου καγκέλλου = 10,010 art. καθαροῦ. The word missing in both 1447 and 1902 is ρυπαροῦ.

¹ (Forthcoming, *BASP* 40) "κριθολογία: A Process or 'a Tax Paid in Compensation for Adulteration of Barley'?"

Turning now to *P.Oxy.* XVI 1902 with 2021 in mind, the document, which is barely literate, is a receipt that accounts for the total amount of grain contributed by an estate owner and an amount of grain delivered under the title of *annona* as food for the crews of the fleet (lines 6-9: *είτον κανκέλλου ἀρτάβας διακοσίας εἴκοσι ἔξι, αἱ* [read: *τάς*] *καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας διακοσίας μόνος* [read: *μόνας*]). In other words, the estate contributed 226 artabas *είτον* (*ρύπαροῦ*) by the *cancellus* measure, which was put through a cleansing process to yield 200 artabas *είτον καθαροῦ*. Hence the 11+% difference between the 226 and 200 art. is represented by barley and other contaminants that were removed by sieving or other means.

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Ptolemaic Pigs: An Ecological Study

This study aims to set papyrological evidence on Ptolemaic pig farming alongside the results of earlier excavations from Amarna, and to place this activity within a geographical and climatological context at a time when the market demand of immigrant Greeks in Alexandria and other cities was responsible for an increased demand for pork and sacrificial animals. The different traditions of Greece and Egypt are considered both lexicographically and in terms of breeds, as are the different operations of pig rearing found in the Zenon and other papyri. Besides their agricultural use, the role of pigs in Fayum reclamation work is stressed.

One of the many ways in which the effect of the new rule of the Ptolemies may be traced is through the changes that took place in the crops and domestic animals raised in the Ptolemaic countryside. The foundation of a new capital, Alexandria, on the northern coast and the growth of other cities resulted in new markets and an impetus to expanded production. At the same time, the establishment in Egypt of Greek military settlers as cleruchs on land well outside the cities brought new ways into the landscape, affecting both flora and fauna. Some areas were affected more than others and, as so often in the Ptolemaic period, much of our evidence derives from the Fayum basin, which was effectively drained and expanded early in the period, so forming a far from typical area. Nevertheless, even if they may have been on a grander scale than elsewhere, developments known from the Fayum may be used to exemplify the process of change which probably took place throughout the Delta and the Nile valley to a somewhat lesser degree. In what follows, it is through pigs and pig farming that I plan to chart one aspect of change, which was already visible in the countryside in the mid third century B.C.

The importance of pigs in earlier Egypt has been variously assessed, but they were there from at least the Neolithic period.¹ The

¹ See D.J. Brewer, D.B. Redford and S. Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals: the Egyptian Origins* (Warminster 1994) 95-6.

New Kingdom excavations and study of pig pens near Akhenaten's new capital of Amarna stand as a model of their type.² The role of pig farming in that period is now better known than before. Pig rearing, on a moderate scale, was concentrated in the workmen's village rather than the city of Amarna itself, which is likely to have formed the demand for its products. But pigs were not always so popular. Some nine hundred years later, the Greek historian Herodotus, while still noting that swineherds formed one of the seven groups that made up the population of Egypt, recorded Egyptian distaste for an animal which was considered unclean. Swineherds, alone of Egyptians, do not enter a temple; they only marry within the group. His description resembles that of an unclean caste. Yet at the same time, he records pigs used as sacrificial victims in the worship of Selene (Isis) and Dionysus (Osiris).³ So, although pigs clearly played some part in the rural landscape of pre-Ptolemaic Egypt, there was often something ambiguous about this animal.

The aim, in part, of the present study is to set the later documentary evidence alongside the results of the Amarna excavations and also, more particularly, to place the Ptolemaic pigs that we know from papyri within their local, ecological context, by looking at the pigs themselves, at what we know of their owners and the patterns of rearing practised in the period, given the climate and geography of Egypt.⁴ Where relevant, agricultural writers both ancient and modern will be called on for help on the way.

² B.J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports I* (London 1984), *Amarna Reports II* (London 1985), *Amarna Reports III* (London 1986), *Amarna Reports IV* (London 1987), *Amarna Reports V* (London 1989), and *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London 1989).

³ Herodotus II 164.1 swineherds, 47.1 *miaros*, 47.2-48, Selene and Dionysus, with A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 1-98*. *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain* 43 (Leiden 1976) 216-24. Cf. *P.Cairo. Zen.* I 59078.5 (257 B.C.), pigs for Isieia.

⁴ Cf. J.G. Keenan, "Pastoralism in Roman Egypt," *BASP* 26 (1989) 175-200, on pastoralism.

Ptolemaic Pigs

We must begin with a problem, the problem of how to identify the pigs that occur in the papyri. This is not just a linguistic or lexicographic problem but primarily one of classification. If we seek to identify the different words which were used for pigs in either Greek or demotic, knowledge of the forms of classification applied in the two traditions is a prerequisite. And here we are largely at a loss. Contemporary systems of classification form a cautionary example. In current UK usage, pigs may be classified by age, sex or breed; no standard terminology is found, but rather many different local names. In terms of age, for instance, pigs may be suckling pigs (still dependent on their mothers' milk until 7-8 weeks old), weaners, growers or shoats (three months to a year) and fatteners (over a year old). Alternatively they may be classified by sex. Suckling pigs or piglets are of either sex, hogs are male pigs, whether or not castrated, gilts are immature sows (until their first litter); boars and sows are mature males and females used for breeding. With respect to breed, we find a whole host of different names, which may refer to colour—the large black, the large white—or to the origin of a breed—Gloucester Old Spot, Wessex or Essex Saddleback, and so on.⁵ Finally, both "pig" (UK) and "hog" (US) may be used generically for any member of the pig family. We may expect to find similar classificatory differences within our texts, complicated still further by the different traditions and breeds of Egypt and of Greece. Not all is impossible, however, and with these cautions in mind we can make some useful observations.

With the Greeks came a new language in Egypt, new requirements, both culinary and religious, and probably also new breeds of pigs. For Greeks, the pig was the sacrificial animal *par excellence*. This is reflected in the term most commonly found for pig in Hellenistic papyri: *hiereion*, the sacred animal. Elsewhere in the Greek and Hellenistic world, *choiros* was the regular word in use, but in Egypt *choiros* was a Nile fish;⁶ the use of *hiereion* would help to avoid false identification. It was suggested long ago, by Keimer,

⁵ W.D. Peck, *Pig Keeping* (London 1963) 133-4.

⁶ S. Clackson, "Something Fishy in CPR XX," *APF* 45 (1999) 94-5; in Egypt, *choiridion* and *choiodelphax* are found (with *choiros* just occasionally).

that with the Greeks a new breed of pig was introduced to Egypt, *sus vittatus*. The earlier Egyptian pig was *sus scrofa*, that small, long-nosed, steep-backed variety covered with black bristles which still survives in Egypt.⁷ In Greek, we may assume, this was the variety that was called the "black pig."⁸ The *hiereion*, by contrast, may more often have been an imported pig, though breeds remain ill-defined.⁹ "White pigs" are known from the papyri; they too may have been imported.¹⁰ Colour, however, is just one aspect of different breeds, and may of these will have lurked beneath more general terms. Either colour or breed could be the defining feature of *rr*- or *še*-pigs, which are known from demotic papyri.¹¹ In a grain account of the mid-third century B.C., we find a Sicilian pig, perhaps a boar, together with a small Sicilian pig among the livestock of Apollonios' estate.¹² Other pigs are classified by size: pigs of one size,¹³ medium-size and small-size pigs.¹⁴ Alternatively, in Greek, age was a defining feature. The Greek *delphax* refers to a young, often female

⁷ L. Keimer, "Remarques sur le porc et le sanglier dans l'Égypte ancienne," *BIE* 19 (1937) 147-56, based on faunal remains, terminology and representations. A stuffed specimen of *sus scrofa* may be seen in the Agricultural Museum in Cairo. Hecker in Kemp, *Amarna I* (above, n. 2) 156, identifies the Amarna pigs simply as *sus domesticus* (Erxleben 1777).

⁸ *P.Cairo.Zen.* IV 59710.23-4 (mid third c. B.C.), *melas*.

⁹ In *P.Count* 2.216-42 and 250-440 (229 B.C.), the distinction between *rr*- and *še*-pigs in demotic could be that between the black Egyptian pig and a lighter imported breed; those terms, however, may be applied in a more general sense. [For *P.Count*, see W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People* (forthcoming).]

¹⁰ *P.Enteux.* 71.5-6 (222 B.C.), a white sow (*hys leukê*). Columella, *Rust.* VII 9.2, connects smooth white pigs with warmer climes; in Italy such pigs were kept by bakers and fed on bran. Varro, *Rust.* II 4.3, recommends pigs of one colour bred together.

¹¹ *P.Count* 2.216-42, 250-440 (229 B.C.); in line 442, *rr*-pigs are written as *ll*.

¹² *P.Cairo Zen.* IV 59710.4-6, fed 4 *choinikes* a day; 13-14, *mikros Sikelikos* fed 2 *choinikes*.

¹³ *P.Cairo Zen.* IV 59769.6, *delphakia homala*.

¹⁴ *P.Col.Zen.* I 46.13 (253 B.C.), *mesa*; *P.Cairo Zen.* IV 59710.13-14, *mikros*.

pig, a gilt.¹⁵ When this is taken over unchanged in official registers, transcribed into demotic simply as *trpgs* or *tlpgs*, it seems likely that what we find is the adoption of a new form of classification, one by age found also in Greek records.¹⁶ Like *delphax* itself in some contexts, the diminutive *delphakion* appears to have been non-gender specific.¹⁷ In Greek, the usual word for sow is *tokas*; in one tax-register *išw.t* occurs as its demotic equivalent.¹⁸ Finally, in Greek, though not yet in demotic, we may recognise the term for castrated pigs, *tomioi*.¹⁹ Known, then, by many different terms, pigs formed a standard feature of the villages of the Ptolemaic Fayum.

Pigs in Their Environment

Pigs differ from sheep and goats in belonging to a more settled existence. Their home was the valley and not the desert edge, home of pastoral animals. Unable to sweat, in a hot climate pigs require shelter from the heat of the day and access to plentiful water.²⁰ Their place, therefore, in Egypt was normally within a village,

¹⁵ *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59463.12-15, female *delphax*; IV 59769.18-19, *delphakes* contrasted with and added to males (*arsenes*); III 59331.14, *delphakes* of 8 months and of one year; cf. *P.Count.* 2.224 (229 B.C.), *trpgs* with final feminine *.t*. Not all *delphakes* were female, cf. *P.Cairo Zen.* II 59274 (251 B.C.), distinguishing *delphakes megaloi* and *choiodelphakes*. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* IX 374d-375b, notes a lack of agreement among ancient authors as to whether *delphax* was male or female.

¹⁶ For classification by age, cf. table below "Two Herds of Pigs."

¹⁷ E.g. *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59310.2 (250 B.C.); 59389.4; 59769.6; *P.Mich. Zen.* 108.5; *PSI* IV 381.4, 10 (248-247 B.C.) (cf. the use of *choiridion*); cf. now D. Schaps, "Piglets again," *JHS* 116 (1996) 169-70, modifying his earlier view ("When Is a Piglet Not a Piglet?" *JHS* 111 (1991) 209), that on Hellenistic Delos *delphakia* were castrated pigs. In Egypt, besides *delphakia* a special term is found for castrated hogs (*tomioi*), *P.Frankf.* 5.17 (241/240 B.C.)

¹⁸ E.g. *P. Count* 2.370 (229 B.C.), note the feminine final *.t*.

¹⁹ *P.Frankf.* 5.11-17 (241/240 B.C.), Tarouthinas declares: 200 sheep + lambs, 1 nanny-goat, 2 kids and 1 billy-goat, 1 sow, 5 *delphakes* and 2 *tomioi*.

²⁰ Kemp, *Amarna I* (above, n.2) 44-45, 47, 49; *Amarna III* (above, n. 2) 34, 48, 51; *Amarna IV* (above, n. 2) 47, numerous water troughs in Amarna pig-pens; *Amarna V* (above, n. 2) 1-14, well used to fill them; Kemp, *Amarna IV* (above, n. 2) 63-4, shade from overhanging rock or less permanent roofing.

where they often lived it close quarters with their owners, near to the canals and down by the river, like the pigs Herakleides tended on land between two temples in the new settlement of Philadelphia. A breach in the canal that bordered the land put the pigs at risk; Herakleides describes the situation.²¹ Elsewhere, a cleruch asks for compensation when his two sows, one with 8 piglets and another still pregnant, were set upon by more than one individual and slaughtered, even though enclosed by tamarisk.²² Daytime shelter might come from shrubs or trees, or more often the courtyard of a house. Some pigs may have roamed the crowded streets of the village, as they searched for food; here, the walls of buildings might provide some shade. At night, a family's pig or pigs were enclosed in the yard, or even within the house. The problems of protection are highlighted in a complaint that was made to the king.²³

Kriton to Zenon, greetings. Please will you pay some attention on my behalf to prevent me being destroyed any longer. For .x., [who was detailed off] to manage (things) for me up to the twentieth of the month, has done nothing at all. Indeed, when I was sleeping out in the fields during the night he came and drove our sow (*hys*), which is pregnant (*epitokos ousa*), out from the courtyard. He then called out my wife with his threats to hamstringing it. He yelled at me to come right out, assuming I was asleep inside. When I returned from the fields, my wife told me all that had taken place, but I told no one, waiting until the days specified for his work were through. I did, however, stop bringing the sow out into the courtyard ...

Kriton's adversary appears to have been billeted on him to make a stated number of bricks, and it was in Kriton's absence in the fields overnight that this particular incident took place. When, as a result of the affair, Kriton no longer let the sow out into the courtyard, he presumably had to feed her within her quarters, perhaps a sty or actually in his house. Whether or not, or in what form, the incident actually took place is irrelevant here. What this sorry story shows is the proximity of the breeding sow to its owner.²⁴ And in his account

²¹ *P.Mich.Zen.* 84.3 (third c. B.C.).

²² *P.Enteux.* 71 (222 B.C.).

²³ *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59462.1-7 (mid third c. B.C.).

²⁴ Cf. R. Miller, "Hogs and Hygiene," *JEA* 76 (1990) 127: milk teeth may indicate the environment where pigs were reared.

of the brutal taunts of his adversary, Kriton further conveys the centrality of the sow to his household unit.²⁵ Larger pig herds (on which, see below) must have had some form of pens, though traces of these have not yet been found for the Ptolemaic period.

Pigs then were a feature of the villages of Egypt rather than of the desert-edge. Living in among the houses and inhabited areas close to canals, as scavengers they lived in close proximity to their owners, relying often on human detritus (including excreta) for their food. Based on modern observation, it has been calculated that a family of four provides sufficient food for up to four pigs. Thus, pigs served to control human waste, as what has been described as an "edible sanitation service."²⁶ In addition, pigs performed the age-old agricultural tasks. They helped the peasant trample in the seed he had sown in the fields and, later, to separate the grain from the chaff as they trampled it underfoot.²⁷ And in the Fayum development area, pigs had a further function. Since pigs flourish where there is mud on the land and plenty of cover, the woody marshland of the Fayum provided an excellent challenge for pigs, who would root up the brushwood and clear the vegetation from land that was newly reclaimed.²⁸ The availability of plenty of water in the province was an added advantage. The pigs could at least keep cool, as their swineherds worked to provide their herds with foodstuff, and to protect them. Herds of pigs, we may surmise, had a constructive part to play in clearing areas that were newly drained and just coming under cultivation. In grubbing up the roots of the marshy plants and shrubs, the large herds of pigs, like those we know from the Zenon archive, may have played an active role in agrarian developments of the period, at the same time as providing food both for their owners and the urban markets.

²⁵ Cf. *P.Cairo Zen.* II 59251.7 (252 B.C.), pigs (*hiereia*) are (in part) what make up home for Zenon.

²⁶ Miller, *op. cit.* (above, n. 24) 126, "a walking waste-disposal unit," 130-6.

²⁷ Herodotus II 14.2, pigs help in sowing and threshing; *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59443.10-11, pigs on the threshing-floor.

²⁸ F.E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* (London 1963) 262; Columella, *Rust.* VII 9.6, marshy and muddy ground.

Breeding and Rearing

Pig keeping came in two main forms. First, there were small-scale family holdings kept within the village, like Kriton's pig or those of Tarouthinas listed in note 19 above. Like men, animals needed salt, and owners were liable for the salt-tax that was charged on their animals, as indeed for other animal-taxes.²⁹ Tax-lists, therefore, join other texts in providing information on the size of recorded holdings of pigs. One demotic salt-tax register, already referred to in the context of terminology, provides details of small animal-holding (sheep, goats and pigs) among the cleruchs and cavalry veterans of a tax-district in the Themistos *meris*, as also for the cows and pigs of non-military men in one of its constituent villages.³⁰ Several observations may be made. First, there is the predominantly Greek nomenclature of pig owners listed here. Given the military groups involved this is not perhaps surprising, but the same applies on the whole also in the non-military (village) context. Pig rearing, like stockholding more generally, was an area where immigrant groups predominate, at least in the Fayum. The next feature is the larger holdings of the cleruchs when compared with those of villagers. In the village listing, only two individuals held as many as six pigs; others had far fewer.³¹ Amongst the cleruchs, in contrast, the mean holding of pigs was 8.4, with a median holding of 8. Some individuals, like Menon's son with five sows, two *del-phakes*, and 10 *rr*-pigs, had many more.³² In such cases, pig keeping was clearly undertaken with a commercial end in view. The number of pigs, therefore, and of other livestock join size of plot and re-

²⁹ *P.Lond.* VII 2153.9 (mid third c. B.C.), salt for a pig; *P.Count* 2.404-6, 411 (229 B.C.), salt-tax at one obol a head, including young. Guard-tax for pigs (*phylakitikon hiereiôn*): *P.Petrie* III 109a.iv.13, b.6, c.i.17; 112a.i.11, 31; ii.4; c.22; f.16 (third c. B.C.); *P.Lond.* VII 1996.77 (c. 250 B.C.); 2008.3 (247 B.C.); *PSI* IV 386.37 (245/244 B.C.), 1 obol a head; *P.Tebt.* III 1061.24 (c. 226 B.C.); *P.Grad.* I 6.7, 23 (223/222 B.C.).

³⁰ *P.Count* 2.217-41, village; 278-446, cleruchs (229 B.C.)

³¹ *P.Count* 2.222 (name missing), and 233 (woman with an Egyptian name), 6 *rr*-pigs + cows in each case; 217-41, average of 3.5 of all types of pig, with 3 as the median figure.

³² *P.Count.* 2.278-411, cavalry cleruchs with all types of pig (ignoring the puzzling *ms-šn*); 362, Menon's son.

cords of slaves and other dependant household members as a measure of the wealth and status of immigrant settlers in Ptolemaic rural society of the third century B.C.

It was not only military men who kept large herds of pigs. Documents from the so-called archive of Zenon preserve the records of pig keeping both on the estate of his employer Apollonios and, for the most part, on his own account. Zenon himself was engaged in private pig rearing from early on and, with his brother Epharmostos, this continued after 248 B.C. when he lost his post as Apollonios' manager.³³ The market for pork and for sacrificial animals was clearly an important factor in the development of these operations.³⁴ These pig farming records have not perhaps received the attention they deserve.³⁵ In detailing different management practices, they allow some investigation of the failures and successes of the enterprise.

Pig rearing, as found in these texts, took several forms but the economic aspects of the various arrangements are hard to disentangle. Surviving records tend to be interim reports on just part of an operation. We lack any formal statement of relations between ultimate owner and those responsible either as employee or lessee. The most common arrangement found in the Zenon dossier is the renting out of pigs, an operation run by the swineherd Pemenas together with the manager Herakleides, two men who failed to see

³³ See C. Orrieux, *Zénon de Caunos, parépidèmos, et le destin Grec*. Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 64 = *Annales littéraires de l'Université Besançon* 320 (Paris 1985) 263, from 250 B.C.

³⁴ *P.Mich.Zen.* 48.2 (256.1 B.C.), 400 chickens and 100 sows needed for the table (*siteusis*); *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59389.4, transported down river; *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59419.6 + IV p.289, *choiridion* for birthday celebration; 59478.7, 13, 30 day-old *choiridion*; IV 59710.31-2, for a celebration. Sacrificial pigs would also serve as food.

³⁵ M.I. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century BC: A Study in Economic History*. University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History 6 (Madison 1922) 109-10, 179; *id.*, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*. 3 vols. (Oxford 1953) 293, 358; C. Préaux, *Les grecs en Égypte d'après les archives de Zénon*. Collection Lebègue 78 (Bruxelles 1947) 31-2; Orrieux, *op.cit.* (above, n. 33) 263.

eye to eye.³⁶ Many different individuals were involved, often with just a few sows apiece.³⁷ This was a widespread operation throughout the nome, not just confined to the surrounds of Philadelphia.³⁸ The lessee presumably carried the risk with a rental normally paid in pigs.³⁹ At this level of commitment, lessees could rely on household waste for feeding their animals; their profit would come from what was left of a litter, after the rent was paid. Who, under this arrangement, was responsible for the salt-tax (*halikê*), guard-tax (*phylakitikon hiereiôn*), and any other charges, is unclear.

Under a different herding arrangement, swineherds were directly employed, receiving wages and rations.⁴⁰ In one case, swineherds were made responsible for seventy pigs at a time;⁴¹ to avoid confusion, these pigs might be marked.⁴² In another text, Pemenas

³⁶ See Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate* (above, n. 35) 109-10; *Pap.Lugd.-Bat.* 21, Prosopography; uneasy relations: *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59330 (248 B.C.); 59331 (248 B.C.); 59439.

³⁷ *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59334.14 (5 August 248 B.C.), Herakleides reports on 74 sows in holdings ranging from 2 to 20 in number (5 as median); 15-21, Pemenas reports on a further 23 in holdings from 2 to 10 (3 as median).

³⁸ Besides Philadelphia and other villages of the Herakleides *meris*, cf. *P.Lond.* VII 2087.4, Themistos; *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59312.8 (250 B.C.), Mouchis in the Polemon.

³⁹ Actual rent rates rarely recorded. *PSI* IV 379.6, 22 (249/8 B.C.), rent payment in Choiach (January-February) of 17 *delphakes* from 10 sows and 16 from perhaps another 10 but it is unclear whether this is an annual or a per litter rent; 381.4, 10 (248-247 B.C.); *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59310.3 (Oct. 250 B.C.), 400 pigs with rent of 211 *delphakia* still owed (total rent unrecorded); 59312.5 (250 B.C.), 18 *delphakes* as rent (number of sows unknown); 59330.1-2 (30 June 248 B.C.); 59331.5 (30 June 248 B.C.); 59334 (248 B.C.), sows leased out with a record of those missing; 59346 (245 B.C.), rent arrears (in *choiridia*) received in December from a wide range of villages; 59362 verso (5 Nov. 242 B.C.), rent on sows in both cash and kind; 59439; V 59819.6-7 (254 B.C.); *P.Lond.* VII 2087; cf. *SB* III 7202.33 (265-264, 227-226 B.C.), for rent in cash on royal pigs.

⁴⁰ *P.Cairo Zen.* IV 59569.140-2 (246-245 B.C.), *sitometria*; 59652.20, *sitometria*; *P.Lond.* VII 2007.5 (Dec. 248 B.C.), *misthos*.

⁴¹ *P.Cairo Zen.* IV 59652, 630 pigs divided among 7 swineherds in Philadelphia and 2 in Arsinois.

⁴² *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59346.8-9 (245 B.C.); Columella, *Rust.* VII 9.12, advises liquid pitch.

claims that one man is not sufficient for driving sixty pigs out to pasture on the *arakos*; two were needed for this task. At the same time, he reports that the swineherd Herienouphis has taken refuge at the king's altar; he had not been paid for four months.⁴³ All was not well with Zenon's larger-scale operations around the time when he left the service of the *dioikêtês* Apollonios. To judge from their names, swineherds were regularly Egyptian, and they tended to concentrate in certain villages. The evidence of the tax-registers supports the picture of the Zenon texts. In a Themistos tax-district detailed in one register, swineherds (*hyophorboi* in Greek) occur in just two out of the seven constituent villages: two families in one and three in another.⁴⁴ For another village elsewhere, just one family (of three adults) is listed, again with Egyptian names.⁴⁵ Overall, however, these differing entrepreneurial arrangements suggest a flexibility of attitude and experimental approach which characterise the various new enterprises introduced by immigrant Greeks.

For breeding, boars are required but, in the case of pigs (unlike sheep or goats), no special term is known for these. Greek *hiereia* could be either male or female, and the presence of boars is hard to trace in surviving accounts.⁴⁶ We may expect them in far fewer numbers than were the ubiquitous sows. In contemporary conditions a boar will service 40 sows, but Varro was less optimistic; sole reliance on one boar was never to be recommended.⁴⁷

How large were Ptolemaic litters and what do we know of the practice of breeding pigs? The current norm of two litters of pigs a

⁴³ *P.Lond.* VII 2007.2-9, Herienouphis; 24-6, *arakos* (Dec. ?248 B.C.). For Zenon's career, see W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe, *Zénon, un homme d'affaires grec à l'ombre des Pyramides* (Leuven 1995) 36-8.

⁴⁴ *P.Count* 3.102-3 (229 B.C.).

⁴⁵ *P.Count* 6.360-2 (232 B.C.).

⁴⁶ Male: *P.Cairo Zen.* II 59152.4-5 (256 B.C.), *arsenika hiereia*; female: II 59274.3 (251 B.C.), *thêleia*; III 59362 verso 5 (242 B.C.) *ta thêluka hiereia*.

⁴⁷ H. Serres, *Manual of Pig Production in the Tropics* (Wallingford 1992) 123, one boar services 40 sows; Peck, *op. cit.* (above, n. 5), 145, 16-20 sows twice a year; Varro, *Rust.* II 4.22, 10 boars for 100 sows.

year was also the case in antiquity.⁴⁸ Current rates are for a first litter of 8-10 followed by 9-11 in subsequent litters, resulting for each litter in 8-9 piglets weaned, even in tropical climates.⁴⁹ For ancient Egypt, the rate of reproduction is largely irretrievable, though we should note the demand for suckling pig (*choiridia*), which combined with natural losses would involve the early removal of some of the pigs of a litter.⁵⁰ One report from the Zenon archive dated to mid September 251 B.C. and shown in the following table, allows us to look more closely at Zenon's pig breeding operations. Within a herd the older brood, weaned but still herded in the family unit, is distinguished from the more recent litter of piglets.⁵¹ The Egyptian names of the swineherds involved —Terbonis son of Pameus and Hareus son of Paphunis—should cause no surprise.

Two herds of pigs (*P.Cairo Zen. II 59274*)

HERD 1		HERD 2	
Piglets (<i>choiodelphakes</i>)	44	Piglets (<i>choiodelphakes</i>)	47
Large piglets (<i>delphakes megaloi</i>)	13	Large piglets (<i>delphakes megaloi</i>)	4
Sows (<i>thêleia</i>)	12	Sows (<i>tokades</i>)	13
Total	69	Total	64

The numbers of the later brood (the piglets or *choiodelphakes*) imply a rate of less than four to a litter of piglets reared. Such a low figure is only half the current rate, but likely to be realistic.⁵² At the

⁴⁸ Zeuner, *op. cit.* (above, n. 28) 267; Varro, *Rust. II* 4.14; Columella, *Rust. VII* 9.4; Kemp, *Amarna I* (above, n. 2) 52 assumes a 1.5 average.

⁴⁹ Serres, *op. cit.* (above, n. 47) 120.

⁵⁰ *choiridia*: *P.Cairo Zen. III* 59346.17, 20 (245 B.C.), being weaned since barley is purchased for them; *III* 59419 + *IV* p.289, line 6, being raised for food; 59478.7, 13, 30 days old; *P.Giss.Univ. I* 10.19 (second c. B.C.)

⁵¹ See Varro, *Rust. II* 4.13; Columella, *Rust. VII* 9.12; Serres, *op. cit.* (above, n. 47) 144, on the inadvisability of mixing litters; sows mix up their young.

⁵² Cf. *P.Cairo Zen. V* 59819.2-3 (26 August 254 B.C.), swineherd has 75 pigs from 15 sows, giving 5 to a litter; *P.Cairo Zen. III* 59346.20, 39 *choiridia* from 6 sows, 6.5 to a litter. Most surviving figures are for rent due as piglets. Modern

same time the size of the two herds fits reasonably well with herd sizes known elsewhere.⁵³

Two broods of pigs a year are clearly shown in these herds. Both sets of piglets might be known as *delphakes*; here they are further specified as large (*megaloï*) or small piglets (*choiodelphakes*).⁵⁴ Other records are less specific.⁵⁵ The normal gap between successive litters is likely to have stood at around six months. One letter records *delphakes* of eight and twelve months but, with only a four-month gap, physiologically these cannot represent the offspring of the same sows.⁵⁶ Pregnancy for a pig traditionally lasts three months, three weeks and three days (c. 115 days), and weaning in modern tropical practice is recommended at seven to eight weeks (49-56 days).⁵⁷ Sows might be kept in isolation for a week prior to farrowing, and for 8-12 weeks during suckling; it is during this period that they require special feeding and a constant supply of water.⁵⁸ Oestrus normally recurs (at least in the presence of a boar)

advice is that sows producing less than 7 piglets should be culled, Serres, *op. cit.* (above, n. 47) 120.

⁵³ *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59346.21, 6 sows and 39 *choiridia*; IV 59652.8-9, 70 pigs to a swineherd; V 59819. 2 (254), 15 sows and 75 piglets; *P.Lond.* VII 2007.24-6 (248? B.C.), one hired hand not enough for 60 pigs at pasture but two sufficient; cf. Varro, *Rust.* II 4.22, 100 as a reasonable number, some have 150.

⁵⁴ On this looser use of *delphax*, see already M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 7 (Munich 1925) 328-9 with n. 6.

⁵⁵ Cf. *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59310 (250 B.C.), *hierieia* and *delphakia*; 59312 (250 B.C.), *tokades* and *delphakes*; 59346 (245 B.C.), *tokades*, *delphakes* and *choiridia*; 59389.4-5, *tokades* and *delphakia*; IV 59769.16-19, *hierieia*, *delphakes*, and *arsenes*; *PSI* IV 379.6, 22-3 (249-248 B.C.), *tokades* and *delphakes*; *P.Lond.* VII 2186.3-4, *tokades* and *delphax*; *P.Tebt.* III 883 (second c. B.C.), *tokades* and *delphakes*; the missing word in line 7 of 883 is unlikely to be *choiroi*, rarely used for pigs in Egypt (*choiodelphakes*, *choiridia*, *delphakia*, *tomioi* are all possible).

⁵⁶ *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59331.12 (30 June 248 B.C.)

⁵⁷ Serres, *op. cit.* (above, n. 47) 126, pregnancy; 136, weaning before 7 weeks is offset by slower growing rates with increased mortality and morbidity; Varro, *Rust.* II 4.13, weaning at two months.

⁵⁸ Columella, *Rust.* VII 10.6-7; Kemp, *Amarna I* (above, n. 2) 52; Serres, *op. cit.* (above, n. 47) 131, on water needs (pigs suckle 20-22 times a day).

within a week; it takes longer if weaning is earlier. The cycle from the onset of one pregnancy to another is thus approximately 169-179 days or some 24-26 weeks, at least in modern conditions. The intervals between litters in third century B.C. Egypt may not have been so favourable. The record of eight month and twelve month-old *delphakes* therefore stands as good evidence for the existence of controlled breeding in rota, of the kind already suggested for the farrowing sties and pig pens of Amarna at a far earlier date.⁵⁹ It is further striking that the gilts of twelve months old, which are mentioned in the same Zenon letter, have still not been used for breeding;⁶⁰ these perhaps were gilts that in Greek were described as medium (*mesa*).⁶¹

The food received by pigs would differ according to the time of the year as well as the stage of breeding. When pigs were confined to pens, barley seems to have been their regular food.⁶² A Sicilian pig among the livestock of Apollonios' estate was fed four *choinikes* of barley a day (c. 3 litres).⁶³ This ration size suggests a rather special pig. A small Sicilian pig was fed at half this rate, as too were young piglets and sows that had recently farrowed.⁶⁴ Mesore (September-October) is the month from which these allowances are recorded. Barley may have been used more widely to supplement

⁵⁹ Kemp, *Amarna I* (above, n. 2) 52; these are strikingly similar to those later described by Varro, *Rust.* II 4.14.

⁶⁰ Cf. Varro, *Rust.* II 4.7, breeding not before a year, preferably at 20 months; Columella, *Rust.* VII 9.3, at one year old; in contrast today, Serres, *op. cit.* (above, n. 47) 121, gilts may breed at 7 or 8 months; at least one year-old recommended for boars, so too Columella, *Rust.* VII 9.2.

⁶¹ *P.Col.Zen.* I 46.13 (253 B.C.).

⁶² From coprolite analysis, Kemp, *Amarna III* (above, n. 2) 58 notes a high cereal grain content in the diet of pigs at Amarna.

⁶³ *P.Cairo.Zen.* IV 59710.4-6. For 4 *choinikes* a day for a *hiereion*, see *P.Petrie* II 39d = III 118.20, 22 (third c. B.C.).

⁶⁴ *P.Cairo Zen.* IV 59710.20-1, all 2 *choinikes* a day. A sow's food requirement is greatest during lactation, Serres, *op. cit.* (above, n. 47) 157; Varro, *Rust.* II 4.15, 2 or more *librae* of barley for lactating sows.

green fodder in late autumn and wintertime.⁶⁵ As already noted, pigs needed salt and a good supply of water.⁶⁶

Despite their swineherds' care, many pigs failed to survive; the attrition rate is likely to have been high. Pig breeding, especially in hot climates, is always a difficult business. Pigs are delicate animals, and the operations of farrowing, weaning and moving a herd are all of them fraught with problems.⁶⁷ The absence of pigs from the great celebratory procession in Alexandria of Ptolemy II Philadelphus is probably due to the stress and exhaustion experienced by these animals, when required to walk in the heat.⁶⁸ There were many external hazards for a Ptolemaic pig—not only were there the crocodiles or breaches in the dyke as well as the acts of savage or hungry neighbours, but swine fever too was regular, at times compounded by the absence of food or of their swineherds, both detrimental to the herd.⁶⁹ For parasites, the evidence of the papyri needs supplementation from archaeology; papyri are also silent on the dangers of crushing, of cannibalism, and problems with sows' milk that regularly beset piglets at a young age.⁷⁰ Life, indeed, was full

⁶⁵ *P.Cairo Zen.* II 59292.305, 482 (250 B.C.), Mesore-Phaophi, Sept.-Dec.; III 59346.17, for *choiridia*, Nov.-Dec.; 59464.2-4; IV 59710, Sept.-Oct.; V 59842.3-9; *P.Lond.* VII 2000.21 (250 B.C.), Sept.-Oct.; 2164.12-13, grain unspecified; *P.Col.Zen.* I 46.13-14 (253); II 77 verso.3. Varro, *Rust.* II 4.15, grain soaked in water; cf. 4.16, wine dregs and grape refuse as food for piglets; Columella, *Rust.* VII 9.2, bran as feed; VII 9.13, grain cooked. For pasturing, see *P.Lond.* VII 2007.23-4 (14 Dec. 248? B.C.), *arakos*; *P.Enteux.* 71.2 (3 Feb. 222 B.C.), crop not specified.

⁶⁶ *P.Lond.* VII 2153.9, salt together with 2 *choinikes* lentils for a *hiereion*; on legumes as pig-feed (better than fodder crops), see Columella, *Rust.* VII 9.9.

⁶⁷ Zeuner, *op. cit.* (above, n. 28) 260; Kemp, *Amarna I* (above, n. 2) 49-50, Seuner, *op. cit.* (above, n. 47) 145 on post-weaning illnesses.

⁶⁸ Athenaeus, *Deipn.* V 201 b-c, including sheep and cattle together with exotic wild animals and birds. For heat stress, see Varro, *Rust.* II 4.6; cf. *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59312.9-10 (Oct. 250 B.C.), a *delphax* died on the road from Philadelphia.

⁶⁹ *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59379.5; 59443.3-5 (cf. IV pp. 289-90), crocodiles; *P.Mich.* I 84 (third c. B.C.), breach in the dyke; *P. Enteux.* 71 (222 B.C.), attack; *P.Lond.* VII 2007.15-20 (248? B.C.), hunger worse than swine fever (*nosos*) in the absence of a swineherd.

⁷⁰ Cf. Kemp, *Amarna I* (above, n.2) 48, 56-8, on pig parasites from Amarna; Serres, *op. cit.* (above, n. 47) 148.

of dangers for a Ptolemaic pig. One account lists losses from a herd of pigs; the attrition rate is appalling.⁷¹ From a herd of 226 (8 sows and 218 *delphakes*) in the two months between Epeiph and very early Thoth, death, theft and sacrifice brought the total down by 20, a loss of almost 10 per cent (9.7%). At such a rate of attrition, in the course of the year the size of the herd would be reduced by over 50 per cent. A further record of swineherds and the sows they leased shows an even higher attrition rate amongst the sows, though no account is taken of their offspring, which would serve to keep the numbers up.⁷² A final source of loss from herds was planned and perpetrated by their owners, who culled their herds and sold the meat. That hogs were culled in preference to gilts is not visible in our texts. Since this is universal practice, it was probably the case in Hellenistic Egypt.⁷³

Once pigs were weaned, we reach the question of castration, a regular practice in pig breeding. The only certain evidence for castration in this period are the two "cut pigs" (*tomioi*) of Tarouthinas' declaration already mentioned above.⁷⁴ However, the mixed herd of yet another Zenon papyrus of 35 *hiereia* (sows), 47 *delphakes* (gilts) and 53 *arsenes* (hogs) must also imply the castration of males.⁷⁵ The castration rate of hogs is unknown. From the agricultural writers, it appears that in classical Italy castration of young pigs took place much later than is current practice. Varro recommends castration of hogs at one year old and certainly not less than six months;⁷⁶ "at six months, just before the young male pigs start to breed" is Columella's advice, "or at three or four years when they have been

⁷¹ *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59312 (October 250 B.C.).

⁷² *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59334.1-14, 26-34 (248 B.C.), a 61 per cent loss during the year (45 sows out of 74); note the female swineherd Philinna (l. 33).

⁷³ Earlier, faunal remains from Amarna imply culling at 2-8 months (hogs) and 14-24 months (sows) with only 13 per cent of animals surviving into their third year, see Hecker in Kemp, *Amarna I* (above, n. 2) 156-8.

⁷⁴ *P. Frankf.* 5.17, (241-240 B.C.); Columella, *Rust.* VII 9.4, for the practice.

⁷⁵ *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59769.16-19.

⁷⁶ Varro, *Rust.* II 4.21

often used for breeding."⁷⁷ The stronger taste of meat from non-castrated hogs, which today is shunned, may not have been disliked in the ancient world. In any case, when pork was dried or salted down, its taste was surely different.⁷⁸ Whereas, therefore, the bleeding and risk of infection connected with later castration will have been significant, this was either not recognized or insufficient to change traditional (Italian) practice.

Given the problems inherent in the rearing of pigs, their prices should cause no surprise. These are recorded in several accounts from the Zenon archive. When in the mid-third century B.C. a wild boar went for 5 drachmas,⁷⁹ domesticated pigs might fetch 4 dr. 1/2 obol apiece;⁸⁰ others came somewhat cheaper.⁸¹ Prices were probably raised at festival time. A special pig for the Arsinoeia might be 12 dr.,⁸² and on another occasion three of Zenon's friends from Alexandria were prepared to pay up to 20 dr. for a top-quality pig to sacrifice for the same dynastic festival.⁸³ For comparison, we find an Arabian ewe with its fleece on valued at 8 dr., skin-clad sheep at 3 dr., or contemporary prices for cattle ranging from 80-200 drach-

⁷⁷ Columella, *Rust.* VII 9.4, 11.1-2, in spring and autumn; the recommendation for castration at 3-4 years is surprising, but old boars may have been fattened for lard (and Columella is often unreliable). Contrast Serres, *op. cit.* (above, n. 47) 119, castration optimally at 4 weeks old; Peck, *op. cit.* (above, n. 5) 144, current British legislation requires an anaesthetic for pigs over 7 months.

⁷⁸ On pigs and pork, see S. Ikram, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt*. OLA 69 (Leuven 1995) 29-33, 145-67, processing as drying, salting and brining. A single pork butcher (*mageiros hykôn*) is known from *P.Count* 3.30 (229 B.C.).

⁷⁹ *P.Lond.* VII 2140.26.

⁸⁰ *P.Cairo Zen.* II 59161.5-6 (26 Jan. 255 B.C.).

⁸¹ *P.Cairo Zen.* IV 59769, pigs bought at auction at the following prices: 20 *hiereia* [at 2+ dr. each] = 40+ dr., 100 same size *delphakia* [at 2 dr. 2 ob.] = 230 dr. (in fact 233 dr.), 30 further *hiereia* [at 3 dr. 4 ob.] = 110 dr.; *P.Mich.Zen.* I 1.16, 18, *choiroi* at 2.5 dr. and 3 dr. each are probably pigs (not fish, cf. n. 6 above).

⁸² *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59298.6 (250 B.C.).

⁸³ *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59501.6.

mas.⁸⁴ After the mid-third century B.C., however, and the close of the Zenon archive, the record of pig prices is much more erratic.⁸⁵

The documentary record for pig farming is, then, reasonably full, but for the Ptolemaic period more excavation is needed. The pattern now known from Amarna for large-scale pig breeding may well have applied in this later period, with pens used for farrowing and weaning but not necessarily for fattening.⁸⁶ Only excavation or the publication of new texts can clarify the system. The demands of Greek life, both for sacrifice and the provisioning of Greek tables in Alexandria and other urban centres, provided substantial markets for pigs and for pork.⁸⁷ The problems of raising pigs in the hot climate of Egypt were offset for the new settlers by market demands and the economic attraction of breeding pigs. Large-scale pig rearing was an operation in which the Greek settlers played the major part in Egypt and especially in the Fayum, where the agricultural benefits of undergrowth clearance and the needs of the capital's market combined to make it good business.

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⁸⁴ *P.Hib.* I 36.5-6 (229 B.C.), Arabian ewe stolen from the courtyard; *P.Lond.* VII 2016.7 (241 B.C.), skin-clad.

⁸⁵ *BGU* VI 1495.3, *delphax* at 500 dr., cf. 37, *choiroi* (fish) at 20 dr. (the date must be later than the third c. B.C. given); 1292.49-71 (80-79 B.C.) *choiridia* at 1850, 1900, 1500 dr.; *P.Tebt.* I 120 introd. (97 or 64 B.C.), *delphax* at 1800 dr.; cf. *P.Tebt.* I 190 (early first c. B.C.), a *choiros* at 8 dr. which must be a fish. Cf. *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59370.6 (240-239 B.C.), 80 dr. for smaller calves; IV 59595.7, 200 dr. for a calf; *P.Hib.* I 34 = *M.Chrest.* 34.3; *P.Hib.* I 73.6 (243-242 B.C.), 20 dr. for a donkey.

⁸⁶ Note, however, that pig-pens at Amarna have only been found in the Workmen's Village, not within the main city area. For New Kingdom pigs from the Delta reared for lard, cf. jars labelled "pig-fat," see Leahy in Kemp, *Amarna II* (above, n. 2) 67; Ikram, *op. cit.* (above, n. 78) 211.

⁸⁷ See further, W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People* (forthcoming), chapter 6.

P.Mich. XVIII 760 (*P.Mich.* inv. 1591): A Fragment of Polybius' Homeric Geography?

Two fragments of a Hellenistic Greek work on geography are in the papyrus collection at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor (*P.Mich.* inv. 1591 = *P.Mich.* XVIII 760). These fragments mention the Aeolian Islands, Sicily, Cyme in Campania, and volcanic phenomena. Distance figures are given between places, and there are references to episodes of the *Odyssey*. *P.Mich.* XVIII 760 is possibly the work of the second century B.C. historian Polybius, who was particularly interested in the geography of Sicily and Italy and its relationship to the *Odyssey* and who calculated distances to determine which episodes of the *Odyssey* were "true."

P.Mich. XVIII 760 dating from the late first to second centuries A.D. preserves portions of a Hellenistic Greek work on geography. The papyrus is written in a professional hand with even lines and an absence of spelling mistakes; this suggests a careful copy of a literary work. The contents deal with the Aeolian Islands and Sicily, and Cyme in Campania is mentioned. There is an interest in the myth and geography of the *Odyssey* and volcanic phenomena, and distance figures are given between places. The order of places conforms somewhat to the *Odyssey*, although Calypso, Circe, and the Land of the Dead are omitted, and the Cyclops episode is out of order.¹ The editor does not attribute the papyrus to any author, although he suggests Hellenistic geographers such as Posidonius or

¹ T.T. Renner, "Geography, The Aeolian Islands, Sicily, and Myth (*P.Mich.* 1591)," in Cornelia E. Römer & Traianos Gagos (eds.), *P.Michigan Koenen* (= *PMich XVIII*). *Michigan Texts Published in Honor of Ludwig Koenen* (Amsterdam 1996) 760, Pl.1, pp. 6-7. Citations of Polybius are from T. Büttner-Wobst (W. Dindorf), *Polybii Historiae*. Vols. 1-4 (Leipzig 1889-1905).

Artemidorus.² I argue that *P.Mich.* XVIII 760 is possibly the work of the second century B.C. historian Polybius.

For ease of reference and in the hope of provoking additional discussion, I reprint the text here.

Column i		Column ii
	]. [ ] . . [	Κκύλλαγ[
	] κα π[α]ρά τῶν	μεταξὺ τ[
	] χαλκοῦν τεῖχος	πορθμῶ . [
4	] ἡ πλωτὴ νῆκος	4 ci νῆσον . [
	] . νη· ἐπτα γὰρ	λίου τὴν c . [
	] ταῦτα μενει	πλησίον . . [cτα-]
	] τῶν τοῦ πυρὸς	δίοις λ τὰς . [
8	] ην καὶ τ[ο]ῦ βρό-	τυπωσεις . [? ἀναγ-]
[μου	] . μων τῶν ἐν αὐ-	κάζει καὶ [
	] μένων οὐκ εἰρη	καὶ ἔτι προ . [
	] . . ci ὑπὸ του[.] ου	τὸν μὲν α . [
12	] . υν ποιεῖτα[ι] δια	12 Κύμη εἰνα[
	] . τοὺς Λαιστρυγό-	δὲ πλησίον[
[νας	] που . . ἀπολεθρ .	ανον· χαλκ[ἁ-]
	] . μισαφειστε . . [	ποτόμους π[έ]τρας ?
16	] λουνει . [ . . . ] . [	16 δ[.] . . cεκ . . [
	] . . . . . [	μ[.] νας τὴν . [
		παρασιωπης[
		ὅ τι εἴπη πα . [
		20 μαριν ἐν Ἐχετ[

² Renner, *op cit.* (above, n. 1) 7-8. For papyri of geographical, or possibly geographical works, see R. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor 1965²) nos. 2271-74. Fragments of Strabo: *P. Köln* I 8 (II/III A.D.); B. Krebber, "Naustoloi bei Strabon: ein neues Papyrusfragment (P.Colon. inv.5861)," *ZPE* 9 (1972) 204-21 & Pl. 6b.; *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3447 & Pl. 4 (earlier II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXV 4459 & Pl. 10 (late II or III A.D.).

Κύκλωπας κα[
 ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς [
 καὶ παρὰ του [.
 24 ολον κομι . ομ[
 λ τὸν προθυμὸν [.
 [πά]λιν ρηβ [.

Strabo preserves fragments of Polybius' 34th book and indicates that Polybius was particularly interested in the geography of Sicily and Italy and its relationship to the *Odyssey*. Polybius believed that Odysseus' travels were true and had taken place near the coast of Italy and Sicily (Polyb. 34.2.9-10 = Strab. 1.2.15-17, c23-25).³ He said that Odysseus traveled to Sicily three times but never traversed the Straits of Messina (Polyb. 34.4.8 = Strab. 1.2.17, c25). Polybius opposed Eratosthenes, who thought that Odysseus' travels were imaginary (Strab. 1.2.3, 7, 12, c17-18, 22; Polyb. 34.4.4 = Strab. 1.2.17, c25),⁴ and Polybius held that they occurred in the Mediterranean, not in the Atlantic as others such as Crates of Mallos had argued.⁵

When Polybius discussed the wanderings of Odysseus (περὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσεύως πλάνης) (Polyb. 34.2.2-3 = Strab. 1.2.9, c20), he asserted that there was truth in Homer's epics. He cited as an example that Aeolus, Homer's king of the winds, was only partly mythical and was in part a real man who was famous for his knowledge of navi-

³ See F.W. Walbank (ed.), *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*. Vol. III (Oxford 1979) 567, 581-2. Hesiod and Stesichorus associated Scylla and Charybdis with Sicily, and Thucydides (Thuc. 4.24) located them in the Straits of Messina. Thucydides placed the Cyclopes and Laistrygones in Sicily (Thuc. 6.2).

⁴ Polyb. 34.2.11 = Strabo 1.2.15, c24. But M. Van der Valk, *Textual Criticism of the Odyssey* (Leiden 1949) 111 thinks that Aristarchus thought that Odysseus' travels were not true; he cites K. Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis* III (Leipzig 1882) 4.

⁵ See Walbank, *op. cit.* (above, n. 3) 567, 577-8. Strab. 3.4.4, c157 = Crates fr.75 Broggiato [Maria Broggiato, (ed.), *I frammenti / Cratete di Mallo*, Pleiadi: studi sulla letteratura antica 2 (La Spezia 2001)]; Gell. *N.A.*14.6.3 = Crates fr.77 Broggiato. Cf. F.W. Walbank, "The Geography of Polybius," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 9 (1948) 155-82.

gating the Straits (Polyb. 34.2.4-9 = Strab. 1.2.15-17, c23-25). In another passage, Polybius offers a different aetiology for the myth of Aeolus: the people on Lipari foretell the winds accurately from studying the rumblings and discharges of the volcano. He says that when the north wind is about to blow, "clear flames spring up to some height from the crater I was speaking of and louder rumblings than usual issue from it"⁶ (φλόγας καθαρὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος κρατῆρος εἰς ὕψος ἐξαίρεσθαι καὶ βρόμους ἐκπέμπεσθαι μείζους, Polyb. 34.11.15-16 = Strab. 6.2.10, c276). According to Polybius, this is [another] basis for Homer's myth that Aeolus is the dispenser of the winds (Polyb. 34.11.12-20 = Strab. 6.2.10, c276). Polybius also provides the measurements of the volcanic crater on Lipara.

Polybius thought that Homer's verses about Charybdis described what happened in the straits and that what he said about Scylla (*Od.* 12.95-97) reflected the migration-patterns of fish along the Italian coast near Sicily (Polyb. 34.2.12-16 = Strab. 1.2.15-17, c23-25) and the local method of fishing for swordfish near the Scyllaeian rock (Polyb. 34.3.1-9 = Strab. 1.2.15-17, c24-25). He said that on the basis of such correspondences one could conclude that Odysseus wandered near Sicily, since Homer attributed to Scylla the method of fishing practiced in the area.

Polybius combined myth and geography when he mentioned the plain of Capua, which he called the most celebrated in all of Italy for its fertility and beauty. He noted that Cyme (Κυμαῖοι) was one of several cities along the coast near Naples and said that "the mythical tale (παρὰ τοῖς μυθογράφοις) concerning the plain of Capua and other celebrated plains which like it are called Phlegraean (τὰ γὰρ πεδία ... Φλεγραῖα), is very probable; for it was quite natural that they should have been a special cause of strife among the gods owing to their beauty and fertility." The plain had natural defensive advantages, which Polybius enumerates (Polyb. 3.91.1-9). He also mentioned Misenum, the bay near Cyme, and the inhabitants of the region (Polyb. 34.11.5 = Strab. 5.4.3, c242).

⁶ Quotations of Polybius are from Paton's translation [W.R. Paton, *Polybius. The Histories*. Vols. 1-6, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA 1970-1927)]. Crates also discussed the "floating island" of Aeolus (Crates fr.49 Broggiato, 215-6).

Polybius calculates distances many times in his *History*, especially in his geography in Book 34.⁷ He gives distances along the south Italian coast from Iapygia (three thousand stades, five hundred by sea) (Polyb. 34.11.2 = Strab. 5.1.3, c211; Polyb. 34.11.8 = Strab. 6.3.10, c285); the coast of Etruria (1330 stades) (Polyb. 34.11.3 = Strab. 5.2.5, c222); and from the Straits to Lacinium (1300 stades) (Polyb. 34.11.9-10 = Strab. 6.1.11, c261). He says that the distance from Cape Malea to the Pillars of Hercules is twenty-two thousand stades and that if this were traveled in the nine days Homer attributes to Odysseus (*Od.* 9.82), Odysseus would have had to travel 2500 stades per day. Based on these calculations, Polybius concludes that Odysseus did not travel to the Pillars of Hercules but rather to the Straits of Messina (Polyb. 34.4.5-8, = Strabo 1.2.17, c 25).

Strabo reports that Polybius reduced Odysseus' nine days voyage and the distances he covered to "exact measurements" (πρὸς ἀκριβῆ μέτρα, Strab. 1.2.18, c26). Polybius, therefore, measured the distances between Italian and Sicilian sites in order to calculate Odysseus' journeys, and he probably measured the distance Odysseus traveled between Aeolus and the Laestrygonians, which Homer said took seven days (*Od.* 10.80-82). The short distances in *P.Mich.* XVIII 760.ii.6-7, 30 stades; ii.25-26, 150 stades; and possibly i.11, 10 or 210 stades, suggest distances traveled by sea, possibly by Odysseus. Polybius' measurements of geographic features, such as the crater on Lipara (5 stades), could also be the basis of the smaller distances given in stades. Renner notes that distance measurements are found in Posidonius,⁸ but Posidonius is much less interested in myth. Dicaearchus is another Hellenistic geographer who measured distances (Polyb. 34.5-6.10 = Strab. 2.4.1-3, c104-105).⁹ Polybius, however, used distance measurements to de-

⁷ Polybius calculated the mile at 8 1/3 stades (Polyb. 34.12.10 = Strabo, epit.7.57).

⁸ Renner, *op.cit.* (above, n.1) 7. Posidonius however did write a continuation of Polybius' *History* and may have adopted his methods in regard to Homer.

⁹ Dicaearchus fr.111 Wehrli [Fritz Wehrli (ed.), *Die Schule des Aristoteles*. Vols.1-6 (Basel 1944-1959)].

termine if his myths contained elements of truth and considered them integral to his analysis of Homer.

Because Strabo paraphrases Polybius it is difficult to compare his vocabulary to that of the papyrus,¹⁰ and the fragmentary nature of the papyrus limits investigation of language and style. Some important words and parallels are:

<i>P.Mich.</i> XVIII 760	Polybius
i.3-4 island of Aeolus ii.24 Αἰῶλον ?	Polyb. 34.2.4-9 = Strab. 1.2.15, c23-24; Polyb. 34.11.12-20 = Strab. 6.2.10, c276 (τὸν Αἰῶλον)
i.5 seven Lipari islands	Polyb. 34.11.12-20 = Strab. 6.2.10, c276 (τῶν γούν ἐν Λιπάραις) the people on Lipara; Polyb. 1.25.4
i.7-8 τῶν τοῦ πυρός ... καὶ τ[ο]ῦ βρόχμου	Polyb. 34.11.12-20 = Strab. 6.2.10, c276 volcanic and wind activity on Lipari is- lands (φλόγας καθαρὰς ... βρόμους ἐκ- πέμπεσθαι μείζους)
i.13 τοὺς Λαιστρυγόνας	Polyb. 8.9.13 (τοὺς Λαιστρυγόνας) Laestrygones on plain of Leontini ¹¹
ii.1-3 Κκύλλαν ... πορθμῶ	Polyb. 34.2.12-16 = Strab. 1.2.15, c24; Polyb. 34.3.1-8 = Strab. 1.2.16, c24-25 (περὶ τὸ Κκύλλαιον ... ἐπὶ τῆς Κκύλλης); Polyb. 34.4.8 = Strab. 1.2.17, c25 (διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ); Polyb. 34.2.5 = Strab. 1.2.15, c23 (κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν) Scylla & Straits
ii.12 Κύμη Εἰνάριμα ?	Polyb. 3.91.1-9 (Κυμαῖοι); Polyb. 1.56.10 (Κυμαίων) Cyme in Campania
ii.20 ἐν Ἐχέτλῃ	Polyb. 1.15.10 (τὴν Ἐχέτλαν) Echetla, a city near Syracuse in Sicily.

¹⁰ Cf. Johann August Ernesti, *Lexicon Polybianum*. (Oxford 1822).

¹¹ Polybius quotes Theopompus' reference to the Laestrygones who dwelt on the plain of Leontini but does not dispute it (Polyb. 8.9.13).

Polybius' interest in Odysseus' travels in Sicily and South Italy is paralleled in *P.Mich.* XVIII 760 in which specific Homeric places and things that attracted Polybius are mentioned: Aeolus, the Lipari Islands, volcanic activity and eruptions, Cyme, the Laestrygonians, and Echetla. However, episodes omitted from the papyrus, i.e., Calypso, Circe, and the Land of the Dead, would not have concerned Polybius if he considered those stories pure myth¹² since he was only interested in what could be proven true.

There is no evidence that Polybius wrote about the Sirens. But Virgil located the Sirens on rocky islands near Cyme (*Sirenum scopuli* Verg. *Aen.* 5.864), not near Scylla, as in Homer. Strabo placed the Sirens near the Bay of Cyme—the Bay of Naples (Strab. 1.2.12, c22), and Statius associated the Sirens with a sheer cliff at the Sirenussae near the Bay of Cyme (*notos Sirenum nomine muros saxaque* Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.1-2).¹³ The rocks near Cyme mentioned in the papyrus (ἀποτόμους πέτρας, *P.Mich.* XVIII 760.ii.14-15) could refer to the Sirens either near the city of Cyme or at the Sirenussae near the Bay of Cyme.¹⁴ Polybius might have discussed the Sirens, especially since he mentions the Bay of Naples in one of the fragments preserved in Strabo (Polyb. 34.11.5 = Strab. 5.4.3, c242). As an alternative, Virgil situated Circe on an island near

¹² Polybius uses Homer's reference to the torments of Tantalus to describe the situation of the Byzantines (ὑπομένονσιν τινα καὶ τιμωρίαν Ταντάλειον κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν, Polyb. 4.45.6). Polybius also believed that the island of Meninx was where Homer's Lotus-Eaters were located (Polyb. 1.39.2; 34.3.12 = Strab. 1.2.17, c25).

¹³ Statius *Silv.* 2.2.1-2 (*Est inter notos Sirenum nomine muros/saxaque Tyrrenae temples onerata Minervae*) speaks of the Sirenussae and the temple of Minerva near Surrentum. Pliny *HN* 3.62 and Strab. 1.2.13, c23 placed the Sirens on the promontory of Minerva near Surrentum and Naples. Polybius also mentioned the promontory of Minerva but he did not locate the Sirens there (Polyb. 34.11.5 = Strab. 5.4.3, c242). Eratosthenes says that some situate the Sirens on the Cape Pelorus (Cape Faro, Sicily) and some on the Sirenussae, which separate the Gulf of Cyme (Bay of Naples; Strabo 1.2.13, c23) from the Gulf of Poseidon (Gulf of Salerno). Strabo adds that islands called the Sirens are near Cape Minerva (Strab. 1.2.12, c22). Cf. Domenico Musti, *Strabone e La Magna Grecia* (Padova 1988).

¹⁴ The author of the papyrus might even have transferred the "bronze wall" said to be on the island of Aeolus to the island of the Sirens (i.e., *P.Mich.* XVIII 760.ii.14-15). Cf. Ap. Rhod. 3.312.

Cyme (Verg. *Aen.* 3.385-386),¹⁵ and the papyrus could refer to Circe's island, although the rocks make this a less likely conjecture.

The author of *P.Mich.* XVIII 760 does not discuss the various Odyssean sites in detail. But if he summarized the places that Odysseus visited and calculated the distances between them in order to demonstrate that Odysseus' travels could have taken place, the brevity is understandable. Moreover, the editor's suggestion that there are two mentions of Aeolus is consistent with Polybius' two aetiologies of Aeolus. The possible return to Aeolus at the end of the papyrus (*P.Mich.* XVIII 760.ii.24) may be the beginning of a more extensive aetiological discussion. It must be noted that unlike in *P.Mich.* XVIII 760, the manuscripts spell out numbers when Polybius gives distances in his *History*. But it is not clear if Polybius (or his copyist) originally used numerals when he wrote.

Polybius insisted that historians have no excuse for citing "the testimony of poets and mythographers (ποιηταῖς καὶ μυθογράφοις) regarding matters about which we are ignorant" and added that Heraclitus called them "untrustworthy sureties for disputed facts" (Polyb. 4.40.2-3). Polybius said that when truth is removed from history it becomes "unprofitable fable" (Polyb. 12.12.3). Therefore, it was fundamental to Polybius' historical methodology to deal with Homeric geography only to the extent that it could be proved on the basis of external evidence. For this reason, Polybius would have been likely to "pass over in silence" (*P.Mich.* XVIII 760.ii.18-19) what was said by mythographers if it had no basis in fact. Strabo, indeed, accused Polybius of suppressing Homer's statements about Calypso's island (Strab. 1.2.18, c26), which indicates that Polybius might have considered it a fable unworthy of discussion. But at the same time Polybius does mention poets as his source (e.g., κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν, Polyb. 4.45.6;¹⁶ and the editor's conjecture: ἤκου]σα π[α]ρὰ τῶν [ποιητῶν, *P.Mich.* XVIII 760.i.2). Polybius is also fond of referring to himself, and some phrase such as "as I said before" (e.g.

¹⁵ So too did Apollonius Rhodius (4.659-662), who said that the Argonauts sailed from Elba, passed "Tyrrhenian Ausonia" (Italy), and landed on Circe's island.

¹⁶ Cf. Polyb. 3.94.4; 12.21.3; 12.25i.1; 18.29.6.

λεχθέντος, Polyb. 34.11.15-16 = Strab. 6.2.10, c276) would be appropriate, although I am unable to fit it into the text of the papyrus.

Many Hellenistic scholars such as Callisthenes, Zeno, Aristarchus, and Crates discuss where the places in Homer were situated and where Homeric events took place; these were questions central to Hellenistic scholarship.¹⁷ But Polybius' factual approach to analysis of the Homeric epics was not the standard practice of either the Alexandrian Homeric scholars, who were primarily interested in grammatical variants, or scholars like Crates and Posidonius, who were concerned with astronomy. Such a combination of Italian and Sicilian geography, volcanic activity, calculations of distance, and myth from the *Odyssey* all suggest that *P.Mich.* XVIII 760 is the work of Polybius.

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¹⁷ Walbank, *op. cit.* (above, n. 3) III 577. Callisthenes (Strab. 12.3.5, c542); Aristarchus and Crates of Mallos (Strab. 1.2.24-25, c30-32); Zeno (Strab. 1.2.34, c41; 7.3.6, c299 = *SVF* 1.63 fr.275 Arnim). Aristotle seems to have adopted a factual approach to Homer (e.g., Arist. F 166 Rose) but his work does not survive and little is known about it.

Deeds of Last Will in Graeco-Roman Egypt: A Case Study in Regionalism¹

An inhabitant of Roman Egypt who wished to commit into writing property arrangements to take effect after his death would find different ways of doing so. As a Roman citizen he would draw up in Latin a *testamentum per aes et libram* or its simplified version under the form of the so-called praetorian will, written on a wax tablet and following strict formulaic rules laid down for this type of document, an exception being made, at the very latest from the reign of Trajan onward, in the case of soldiers in active service.² For those who were not Roman citizens, a common practice was to draw up a Greek *diathêkê*, a form well attested in the papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, and recognized by scholars already in the earliest days of papyrological research.³ The *diathêkê* was not,

¹ This paper was originally delivered in the section "Papyri and Ancient Society" in the Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association in Philadelphia, on January 5, 2002. I would like to thank the American Society of Papyrologists (ASP) for allowing me to deliver it. I would also like to thank Professors Roger S. Bagnall and Hannah M. Cotton, and Mr. J. Urbanik for reading this article and making some important comments.

² Cf. M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* I (Munich 1971²) 678-93, II (Munich 1975²) 477-95. For a detailed discussion of this type of document according to the source material from Roman Egypt cf. M. Amelotti, *Il testamento romano attraverso la prassi documentale* I. *Le forme classiche di testamento* (Florence 1966) 111ff. and L. Migliardi Zingale, *I testamenti romani nei papiri e nelle tavolette d'Egitto. Silloge di documenti dal I al IV secolo d.C.* (Torino 1988). On the exceptions in the case of soldiers in active service cf. Ammelotti, *ibid.* 81ff.

³ H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen auf Grund der Gräko-Ägyptischen Papyrusurkunden* (Leipzig 1919) 337-79, still provides the most thorough discussion of the scheme of the *diathêkê* in the Roman period. We now possess 42 Greek *diathêkai* dating to the period between 31 B.C.E. and 212 C.E., many of whom have never been edited in full: BGU VII 1654 (after 133 C.E. – Ptolemais Euergetis); CPR VI 1 (125 C.E. – Ptolemais Euergetis); 72 (I C.E. – Hermopolites); P.Col. X 267 (180-192 C.E. – Oxyrhynchos); P.Flor. III 341 (II C.E. – Oxyrhynchos (?)); P.Hamb. IV 278 = P.Tebt. II 465 descr. (190 C.E. – Tebtunis/

however, the only instrument which could be used for that purpose. As early as 1895, scholars became aware of the existence of other schemes in deeds of last will, yet the number of such documents then available was too small to allow an exhaustive study of their features. Thus, when H. Kreller completed his *erbrechtliche Untersuchungen* in 1919, the main feature that he could find common to these documents was that none of them conformed with the established structure of the *diathêkê*.⁴

Our source material has increased considerably since then. We now possess as many as 44 deeds of last will that, following Kreller's definition, do not conform with the scheme of the *diathêkê*, 34 or 35 of which were composed in the Roman period prior to the *constitutio Antoniniana*, while one or two are dated to an earlier and eight to a later period.⁵ An examination, in turn, of all the

Ptolemais Euergetis); *P.Köln* II 100 = *SB* X 10500 = *SB* X 10756 (133 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); *P.Lund.* VI 6 = *SB* VI 9356 (190/1 C.E. – Tebtunis/ Ptolemais Euergetis); *P.Mich.* IX 549 (117/8 C.E. – Karanis/Ptolemais Euergetis); *P.Oxy.* I 104 (96 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 105 = *M.Chr.* 303 (118-138 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); II 379 *descr.* (81-96 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); III 489 (117 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 490 (124 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 491 = *M.Chr.* 304 (126 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 492 (130 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 493 = *M.Chr.* 307 (before 99 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 494 = *M.Chr.* 305 = *Jur.Pap.* 24 = *Sel.Pap.* I 84 (156 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 495 (182-189 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 634 *descr.* (126 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 646 *descr.* (117-138 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 648 *descr.* (117-138 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 649 *descr.* (early II C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 650 *descr.* (I-II C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 651 *descr.* (126/7 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); 652 *descr.* (early II C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); IV 837 *descr.* (117/8 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); VI 968 *descr.* (98-138 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); VII 1034^r (II C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); LXVI 4533 (I-II C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); *P.Ryl.* II 153 (169 C.E. – Hermopolis); *P.Sipp.* 43 = *P.Oxy.* III 583 *descr.* (119/20 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); *P.Stras.* IV 284 (176-180 C.E. – Ptolemais Euergetis); VI 546 (ca. 155 C.E. – Unknown Provenance); *P.Wisc.* I 13 (early II C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); *PSI* XII 1263 = *SB* V 7816 (166/7 C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); *SB* XIV 11642 (178/9 C.E. – Ptolemais Euergetis); XVI 12331 (II-III C.E. – Oxyrhynchites); XVIII 13232 (I C.E. – Hawara); 13308 (81-96 C.E. – Ptolemais Euergetis (?)); *Stud.Pal.* IV p. 116 = *P.Oxy.* III 647 *descr.* (II C.E. – Oxyrhynchites).

⁴ Kreller, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 202-3. Cf. also V. Arangio-Ruiz, *La successione testamentaria secondo i papiri greco-egizii* (Naples 1906) 163-91, who explains the emergence of the alternative form as a result of the fusion of Egyptian and Greek hereditary practices.

⁵ *Ptolemaic*: *BGU* III 993 (127 B.C.E. – Hermonthis). *PSI Congr.* XI 5 (Tebtunis) is dated approximately to the first century B.C.E. or first century C.E.

documents of this type written before the promulgation of the *constitutio Antoniniana* shows that all were composed according to an established scheme of their own: a clause indicating the date and place of composition of the document is followed by an acknowledgement of the author that he cedes effective after his death (ὁμολογεῖ μεμερικέναι / συγκεχωρηκέναι μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευτήν) some of his assets to beneficiaries whose individual share is given in detail in the text that follows. If required, the deed would also contain clauses concerning the appointment of guardians for under age children, the allowance for a surviving spouse, and provisions for the author's burial rites. Next we commonly find a clause authorizing the assignor to alter the term of the disposition, as well as one elaborating on the *personalia* of the assignor, of the *hypographeus*, and of the six witnesses, if indeed there were witnesses to the act—which was not always the case (see below, pp. 164-5). The document would end with the *hypographai* of the assignor and the witnesses. This scheme appears, as a rule, in an independent document, but could also be attached to a dowry receipt.⁶

Post-Antonine/Byzantine: *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67154^v (566-574 C.E. – Antinoopolis); *P.Cair.Preis.* 42 (III-IV C.E. – Hermopolis); *P.Coll.Youtie* II 83 (353 C.E. – Oxyrhynchos); *P.Diog.* 11 with 12 (213 C.E. – Ptolemais Euergetis); *P.Gron.* 10 (VI C.E. (?) – Unknown Provenance); *P.Lond.* V 1727 = *Sel.Pap.* I 86 = *FIRA*³ 67 (583/4 C.E. – Syene); *P.Münch.* 8 (ca. 540 C.E. – Syene); *SB XVIII* 13741 (VI C.E. – Kynopolites).

⁶ Independent documents (30 cases): *BGU* I 86 = *M.Chr.* 306 (155 C.E. – Soknopaiou Nesos); II 483 (II C.E. – Arsinoites); *CPR* I 208 (II C.E. – Arsinoites or Herakleopolites); *P.Col. Inv.* 518, J. Farr, *BASP* 30 (1993) 93-104 (116 C.E. – Tebtunis); *P.Haun. Inv.* 28, A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *CIMA* 6 (1971) 14-21 (122-123 C.E. – Karanis); *P.Lond.* II 288 *descr.* p. xxviii, P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 98 (1993) 292-6 (90 C.E. – Soknopaiou Nesos); *P.Mert.* III 105.1-9 (164 C.E. – Tebtunis); *P.Mich.* V 321 (42 C.E. – Tebtunis); XV 785 a+b (47/61 C.E. – Ptolemais Euergetis); *P.Münch.* III 80 (103-114 CE – Soknopaiou Nesos); *P.Stras.* II 122 (161-169 C.E. – Arsinoites); VII 603 (103-116 C.E. – Tebtunis); 684 (117-138 C.E. – Unknown Provenance); *P.Tebt.* II 381 (123 C.E. – Tebtunis); 517 (II C.E. – Tebtunis); *P.Ups.Frid.* 1 (48 C.E. – Dionysias); *P.Vind.Tand.* 27 (I C.E. – Soknopaiou Nesos); *PSI Congr.* XI 5 (I B.C.E./I C.E. – Tebtunis); *SB* I 4322 (84-96 C.E. – Unknown Provenance); V 7559 (118 C.E. – Tebtunis); VI 9373 (II C.E. – Tebtunis); 9377 = *P.Kron.* 50 = *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 84 (138 C.E. – Tebtunis); VIII 9642 (1) (112 C.E. – Tebtunis); (2) (123 C.E. – Tebtunis); (3) (125 C.E. – Tebtunis); (4) (117-137 C.E. – Tebtunis); (5) (139-161 C.E. – Tebtunis); (6) (ca. 133 C.E. –

The aforesaid scheme has long been recognized by editors of new documents.⁷ At the same time, following Kreller as well as Montevecchi, they are still incorporated in lists of deeds of last will together with those peculiar cases which do not conform with any known scheme, and together with those are commonly labeled as *donationes mortis causa*.⁸ Both the label and the inclusion may stand in need of revision. The application of the term *donatio mortis causa* to these documents is modern⁹ and must be replaced by the proper name used by the inhabitants of early Roman Egypt, which seems to have been μεριτεία¹⁰ in the first century and συγχωρημα in the second.¹¹ I shall use the former term in the following. Even

Tebtunis); X 10572 (126 C.E. – Tebtunis); XII 10888 (119 C.E. – Tebtunis (?)). Attached to marriage documents (5 cases): BGU I 183.10-26 = M.Chr. 313 (85 C.E. – Soknopaiou Nesos); 251.8-20 (81 C.E. – Soknopaiou Nesos); 252.10-15 (81 C.E. – Ptolemais Euergetis); CPR I 28.8-28 (110 C.E. – Ptolemais Euergetis); SB XVI 12334.6-22 (late II C.E. – Philadelphia). P.Lond. II 149 descr., p. xiv (ca. 130 C.E. – Karanis), will soon be published by Dr. R. Salomons as P.Sijp. 44. I have no information on its scheme.

⁷ E.g. P.Ups.Frid. pages 1-2 on no. 1.

⁸ Cf. e.g. O. Montevecchi, "Ricerche di Sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano I. I testamenti," *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 67-121 at 72-3; R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in Light of the Papyri* (330 B.C. – 640 A.D.) (Warsaw 1955) 204-7; P.Mich. XVIII pages 207-8 on no. 785a+b.

⁹ A term coined for this category by Gradenwitz, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Leipzig 1900) 135.

¹⁰ BGU XV 2476 (59/60 C.E. – Tebtunis); P.Fay. 97 (78 C.E. – Euhemeria); P.Mich. II 121^v 1.9; 9.4; 10.6; 11.19 (all four from 42 C.E. Tebtunis); 123^r 2.29; 7.22; 8.20; 12.30; 13a.6; 21.25 (all six from 45/46 C.E. Tebtunis); V 238^r 1.42; 3.151; 5.236; 5.247; 332a (all five from 46 C.E. Tebtunis); P.Ryl. II 179 (127 C.E. – Nilopolis). The term is in use contemporaneously with the verb μεριζειν to denote the act of bequest in the deeds themselves. Earliest attestation: P.Mich. V 321 (42 C.E. – Tebtunis); latest attestation: P.Lond. II 288 descr. (90 C.E. – Soknopaiou Nesos).

¹¹ BGU I 86 (155 C.E. – Soknopaiou Nesos); P.Col. X 274 (209 C.E. – Arsinoites); P.Fam.Tebt. 21 (122 C.E. – Tebtunis); P.Kron. 50 (138 C.E. – Tebtunis); PSI III 189 (157-161 C.E. (?) – Ptolemais Euergetis); SB VIII 9642 (4) (117-137 C.E. – Tebtunis); SB XVIII 13176 (168 C.E. – Hermopolites). Also outside our time frame in P.Cair.Goodsp. 13 (341 C.E. – Hermopolis); P.Neph. 31 (335 C.E. – Herakleopolites (?)). The use of this term is contemporaneous with the use of the verb συγχωρειν in the same deeds. Earliest attestation in SB VIII

more strikingly, the documents of this class are now nearly as numerous as the *diathêkai*, and should not be treated any longer simply as exceptions. They need to be studied on their own, as a standard type of testamentary act in the early Roman period.

Considering these three types of hereditary instruments, it is quite clear what made a person draw up a will in Roman form rather than a Greek *diathêkê* or a *meriteia*. A will made by a civilian Roman citizen that was not according to the rules of Roman law was still void and null in the first and second centuries C.E. However, it is not as clear, under what circumstances a non-Roman would choose between a Greek *diathêkê* and a *meriteia*. To begin with, both the *meriteia* and the Greek *diathêkê* were in use, in the period prior to the *constitutio Antoniniana*, both by residents of the *metropoleis* and—even if to a lesser extent—by those living in villages,¹² both by men and women, and by spouses acting together,¹³ as well as by people of different ages.¹⁴ The authors of

9642 (1) (ca. 112 C.E. – Tebtunis). The verb was in use in *meriteiai* that were appended to marriage documents as early as the fourth quarter of the first century. Cf. e.g. *BGU* I 183 (85 C.E. – Soknopaiou Nesos).

¹² The author of a *meriteia* is reported to be τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως in P.Col. Inv. 518 and *SB* VIII 9642 (4); he or she is declared to be resident of a village in *BGU* I 86, P.Haun. Inv. 28, *P.Mert.* III 105.1-9, *P.Tebt.* II 381, *SB* V 7559, VIII 9642 (2), (3), (5), X 10572. Since most of the *diathêkai* were drawn up in the *metropoleis* (see below, p. 157), it is quite natural that their authors would tend to be metropolitans. There are, however, also numerous exceptions: cf. *CPR* VI 72; *P.Köln.* II 100; *P.Lund.* VI 6; *P.Oxy.* III 492; *P.Stras.* IV 284; *P.Wisc.* I 13.

¹³ ***Diathêkai: Men*** (17 cases): *BGU* VII 1654; *CPR* VI 1; 72; *P.Col.* X 267; *P.Flor.* III 341; *P.Oxy.* I 105; III 489; 491; 494; 495; 646 *descr.*; 648 *descr.*; 649 *descr.*; 651 *descr.*; LXVI 4533; *P.Ryl.* II 153; *SB* XIV 11642; XVIII 13308. ***Women*** (18 cases): *P.Hamb.* IV 278; *P.Köln* II 100; *P.Lund.* VI 6; *P.Mich.* IX 549; *P.Oxy.* I 104; II 379 *descr.*; III 490; 492; 634 *descr.*; 647 *descr.*; 650 *descr.*; 652 *descr.*; IV 837 *descr.*; VI 968 *descr.*; *P.Stras.* IV 284; *P.Wisc.* I 13; *PSI* XII 1263; *SB* XVIII 13232. ***Both spouses*** (1 case): *P.Oxy.* III 493. ***Meriteiai: Men*** (17 cases): *BGU* I 86; II 483; *P.Cair.Preis.* 42; *P.Lond.* II 288 *descr.*; *P.Mich.* V 321; XV 785a+b; *P.Ups.Frid.* 1; *P.Vind.Tand.* 27; *SB* I 4322; VI 9373; 9377; VIII 9642 (2); (4); (5); (6) (?); X 10572; XII 10888. ***Women*** (11 cases): *BGU* I 183; 251; 252; P.Col. Inv. 518; P.Haun. Inv. 28; *P.Mert.* III 105.1-9; *P.Stras.* II 122; *P.Tebt.* II 381; *SB* V 7559; VIII 9642 (1); (3). ***Both Spouses*** (3 cases): *CPR* I 28; *P.Munch.* III 80; *P.Stras.* VII 603; *SB* XVI 12334.

both deed types were usually inclined to keep their assets within their close family circle rather than to bequeath them to outsiders.¹⁵ The arrangements made in both types of documents were generally revocable.¹⁶ As objects of delivery we find repeatedly, in both types of deed, pieces of agricultural land,¹⁷

¹⁴ **Diathēkai**: 30-39: 1 case; 40-49: 5 cases; 50-59: 1 case; 60-69: 4 cases; over 70: 1 case. **Meriteiai**: under 30: 1 case (?); 30-39: 2 cases; 40-49: 5 cases; 50-59: 5 cases; 60-69: 10 cases; over 70: 3 cases. The average age in wills is ca. 52, the median 48. In *meriteiai* the average age is ca. 57, the median 60.

¹⁵ The following list contains only the cases in which the beneficiary receives a share of the estate through the bequest clause, i.e. ὁμολογεῖ μεμερικέναι/συγκεχωρηκέναι τῷ δεῖνι in the case of the *meriteia*, and καταλείπω τὸν δεῖνα κληρονόμον *vel sim.* in that of the Greek *diathēkē*. **Diathēkai**: **Sons** (19 cases): *CPR* VI 1; 72; *P.Col.* X 267; *P.Hamb.* IV 278; *P.Köln* II 100; *P.Oxy.* I 104; III 491; 493; 494; 495; 646 *descr.*; 649 *descr.*; IV 837 *descr.*; VI 968 *descr.*; *P.Ryl.* II 153; *PSI* XII 1263; *SB* XIV 11642; XVIII 13232; 13308. **Daughters** (8 cases): *CPR* VI 1; *P.Köln* II 100; *P.Lund.* VI 6 (?); *P.Oxy.* I 105; VII 1034; *P.Stras.* IV 284; *SB* XIV 11642; XVI 12331. **Grandchildren** (2 cases): *P.Köln* II 100; *P.Stras.* IV 284. **Spouses** (4 cases): *P.Oxy.* III 583 *descr.* = *P.Sijp.* 43; 634 *descr.*; VI 968 *descr.*; *P.Ryl.* II 153. **Siblings** (2 cases): *P.Oxy.* II 379 *descr.*; *P.Ryl.* II 153. **Outsiders** (4 cases): *P.Oxy.* III 490; 492; LXVI 4533; *P.Wisc.* I 13. **Meriteiai**: **Sons** (22 cases): *BGU* I 86; 183; 251; II 483; *CPR* I 28; *P.Haun.* Inv. 28; *P.Lond.* II 288 *descr.*; *P.Mert.* III 105.1-9; *P.Mich.* V 321; XV 785a+b; *P.Münch.* III 80; *P.Stras.* II 122; VII 603; *P.Ups.Frid.* 1; *SB* V 7559; VI 9373; 9377; VIII 9642 (2); (3); (4); X 10572. **Daughters** (18 cases): *BGU* I 183; 251; II 483 (?); *P.Haun.* Inv. 28; *P.Lond.* II 288 *descr.*; *P.Mich.* V 321; XV 785a+b; *P.Stras.* II 122; VII 603; *P.Tebt.* II 381; *P.Ups.Frid.* 1; *P.Vind.Tand.* 27; *SB* I 4322; V 7559; VI 9373; 9377; VIII 9642 (1); (3); X 10572. **Grandchildren** (6 cases): *BGU* 183; 251; *P.Tebt.* II 318; *P.Vind.Tand.* 27; *SB* VI 9373; 9377. **Spouses** (4 cases): *P.Münch.* III 80; *P.Ups.Frid.* 1; *P.Vind.Tand.* 27; *SB* I 4322. **Siblings** (1 case): *SB* XII 10888. **Outsiders** (2 cases): *P.Cair.Isid.* 42; *SB* XII 10888.

¹⁶ In both cases the delivery was to take effect after the death of the assignor who could alter its terms or revoke it as he saw fit. Cf. e.g. *BGU* I 86.23-5 (*meriteia*); *P.Oxy.* III 489.4-5 (*diathēkē*). There are two exceptional cases only in which the terms of the *meriteia* were declared to be irrevocable: *P.Cair.Preis.* 42.3 (III-IV C.E. – Hermopolis); *P.Mich.* V 321.21-3 (42 C.E. – Tebtunis).

¹⁷ **Diathēkai**: *BGU* VII 1654; *CPR* VI 1; *P.Col.* X 267; *P.Köln* II 100; *P.Lund.* IV 6; *P.Oxy.* III 491; 648 *descr.*; *P.Stras.* IV 284; *P.Wisc.* I 13; *SB* XVI 12331; XVIII 13308. **Meriteiai**: *BGU* II 483; *CPR* I 28; 208; *P.Lond.* II 288 *descr.*; *P.Mich.* V 321; XV 785a+b; *P.Münch.* III 80; *P.Stras.* II 122; VII 603; *P.Ups.Frid.* 1 (?); *P.Vind.Tand.* 27; *SB* VI 9373; VIII 9642 (4); (5); (6); XVI 12334.

houses, or shares in houses, with adjacent yard and facilities,¹⁸ chattels,¹⁹ cash,²⁰ and sometimes also slaves.²¹ In fact, aside from the formulation of the clauses denoting the act of bequest itself, the authors of the two types of deed of last will did not shun from including in them identical provisions, thus showing that in their eyes the two types of instrument serve the same practical need.²²

At first glance, the use of one type rather than the other seems to be tied up with their nome of composition. The Arsinoite nome yielded from the period before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* only eight out of the forty-two Greek *diathêkai* in hand—that is significantly below the share of this important nome in the findings from the Roman period in general.²³ The greatest bulk of *diathêkai*, twenty-nine, originates from the Oxyrhynchite nome, while the

¹⁸ **Diathêkai:** CPR VI 1; 72; P.Col. X 267; P.Lund. VI 6; P.Köln II 100; P.Oxy. I 104; 105; II 379 descr.; III 489; 492; 634 descr.; 648 descr.; 649 descr.; VII 1034; P.Ryl. II 153; P.Stras. IV 284; PSI XII 1263; SB XVI 12331; XVIII 13308. **Meriteiai:** BGU I 86; 183; 251; CPR I 28; P.Haun. Inv. 28; P.Lond. II 288 descr.; P.Mich. V 321; XV 785a+b; P.Münch. III 80; P.Stras. II 122; VII 603; P.Tebt. II 381; P.Ups.Frid. 1; P.Vind.Tand. 27; SB V 7559; VI 9373; VIII 9642 (1); (3); (4); (5); (6); X 10572.

¹⁹ **Diathêkai:** BGU VII 1654; CPR VI 1; P.Flor. III 341; P.Köln II 100; P.Oxy. I 105; III 489; 494; 495; 646 descr.; P.Ryl. II 153; P.Stras. IV 284; SB XVIII 13308. **Meriteiai:** BGU I 86; 183; II 483; CPR I 28; P.Haun. Inv. 28; P.Lond. II 288 descr.; P.Mich. V 321; P.Münch. III 80; P.Tebt. II 381; P.Ups.Frid. 1; SB I 4322; VIII 9642 (1); (3); (4); (5); (6); X 10572; XII 10888.

²⁰ **Diathêkai:** CPR VI 1; P.Mich. IX 549; P.Oxy. I 104; III 491; 634 descr.; 648 descr.; 649 descr.; 583 descr.; LXVI 4533; P.Ryl. II 153; P.Stras. IV 284; PSI XII 1263; SB XVIII 13308. **Meriteiai:** BGU I 183; 251; P.Haun. Inv. 28; P.Mich. V 321; P.Stras. VII 603; P.Tebt. II 381; P.Ups.Frid. 1 (dowry); SB VI 9377; VIII 9642 (1); (3).

²¹ **Diathêkai:** BGU VII 1654; P.Hamb. IV 278; P.Mich. IX 549; P.Oxy. III 491; 492; 494; P.Ryl. II 153; P.Stras. IV 284; SB XVIII 13232. **Meriteiai:** P.Lond. II 288 descr.; P.Stras. II 122; SB XVI 12334.

²² E.g. provisions in favor of a surviving spouse: P.Mich. XVIII 785 (meriteia); CPR VI 1 (diathêkê).

²³ I.e. according to the online version of the *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens* ca. 1/3 of the total.

meriteiai are almost exclusively from the Arsinoites.²⁴ On closer scrutiny, however, it becomes apparent that this simple distinction by provenance cannot account for the distribution of our evidence. There are, after all, Greek *diathêkai* from the Arsinoites.

The focus of the inquiry can be made sharper if we look into the Arsinoite nome alone. At least five of the eight Greek *diathêkai* authored in this region were written in Ptolemais Euergetis, the nome's capital.²⁵ As for the other three, there is nothing to exclude their composition in the nome's capital, albeit their editors suggest that they originate from Karanis or Tebtunis.²⁶ It seems, therefore, that the *diathêkai* in the Arsinoite nome were an intrinsically *metropolitan* type of deed. If we assume that the *diathêkê* was a type of instrument generally in use mainly in *metropoleis* throughout Egypt, this could certainly account for the extremely high number of papyri of this kind among the Oxyrhynchite documentary papyri, for documentary papyri stem in this nome primarily from the *metropolis*.²⁷

²⁴ Regional distribution between 30 B.C.E. and 212 C.E.: *Diathêkai*: Oxyrhynchites: 29; Arsinoites: 8; Hermopolites: 2; Hawara: 1; Unknown provenance: 1. *Meriteiai*: Arsinoite: 32 or 33; Herakleopolis: 0 or 1; Unknown Provenance: 1.

²⁵ BGU VII 1654; CPR VI 1; P.Stras. IV 284 C.E.; SB XIV 11642; XVIII 13308.

²⁶ In P.Hamb. IV 278 (ca. 190 C.E. – Tebtunis) the testatrix is reported (line 5) to be living in the ἀγορὰν Κυριακῆς. P.Lund. VI 6 (190/91 C.E.) is reported by the editors to originate from Tebtunis. A restoration in lines 1-2 διὰ τοῦ ἀγορᾶν νόμου would imply, however, a composition in the nome's capital since this is where the *agoranomeion* was located in the Roman period. Cf. H.-J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* II (Munich 1978) 15 n. 33. P.Mich. IX 549 (117/18 C.E.), deals with some pieces of property located in Karanis. The testatrix herself however, is reported (line 2) to be τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μητροπόλεως. It is just as plausible that the will was drawn up in Ptolemais Euergetis as well.

²⁷ Among the 29 Oxyrhynchite wills listed above in note 3, in 16 cases the document is declared to be drawn in the *metropolis*, or other indications allow us to assume a composition in the *metropolis*: P.Oxy. I 104; 105 = M.Chr. 303; III 489; 490; 491 = M.Chr. 304; 492; 493 = M.Chr. 307; 494 = M.Chr. 305 = Jur.Pap. 24 = Sel.Pap. I 84; 495; 634 descr.; 649 descr.; VII 1034; LXVI 4533; P.Wisc. I 13; PSI XII 1263 = SB V 7816; Stud.Pal. IV p. 116 = P.Oxy. III 647 descr. In twelve

The assumption that the *diathêkê* was a distinctly *metropolite* institution is supported by the fact that *diathêkai* form a roughly comparable proportion of the documentation from the two *metropoleis*, Ptolemais Euergetis and Oxyrhynchos: the current online version of the *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens* contains ca. 1,300 documentary papyri written in the city of Oxyrhynchos in the period between 30 B.C.E. and 212 C.E. The word *diathêkê* occurs in forty-six of them, that is roughly 3.4%.²⁸ Similar proportions are evident in the source material from Ptolemais Euergetis, which yields eleven documentary papyri referring to Greek *diathêkai*, out of a total of ca. 500, or roughly 2.2%.²⁹

wills (primarily those that have not yet been fully edited) the exact place of composition cannot be established with certainty: *P.Col.* X 267; *P.Flor.* III 341; *P.Oxy.* II 379 *descr.*; III 646 *descr.*; 648 *descr.*; 650 *descr.*; 651 *descr.*; 652 *descr.*; IV 837 *descr.*; VI 968 *descr.*; *P.Sijp.* 43 = *P.Oxy.* III 583 *descr.*; *SB* XVI 12331. There is only one document, *P.Köln.* II 100, that was beyond doubt composed in the village of Pim.[].

²⁸ *P.Cair.Preis.* 32 (116 C.E.); *P.Col.* X 267 (180-192 C.E.); *P.Flor.* III 341 (II C.E.); *P.Fouad* I 32 (174 C.E.); 36 (167 C.E.); *P.Harr.* I 74 (99 C.E.); *P.Köln* II 100 (133 C.E.); *P.Mert.* II 75 (185 C.E.); *P.Mich.* XVIII 789 (190 C.E.); *P.Münch.* III 140 (I C.E.); *P.Oxy.* I 75 (129 C.E.); 105 (118-138 C.E.); 106 (135 C.E.); 107 (123 C.E.); II 249 (80 C.E.); III 482 (109 C.E.); 489 (117 C.E.); 490 (124 C.E.); 491 (126 C.E.); 492 (130 C.E.); 493; (99 C.E.); 494 (156 C.E.); 495 (182-189 C.E.); XIV 1648 (late II C.E.); 1701 (III C.E.); 1721 (187 C.E.); 1726 (early III C.E.); XVII 2134^v (185/6 C.E.); XXXVI 2757 (79 C.E.); 2759 (116 C.E.); XXXVIII 2852 (104/5 C.E.); LXVI 4533 (I-II C.E.); *PSI* V 475 (117-138 C.E.); X 1119 (156 C.E.); XII 1255 (III C.E.); 1258 (III C.E.); 1263 (166/7 C.E.); *P.Wash.Univ.* I 13 (161-196 C.E.); *P.Wisc.* I 13 (early II C.E.); *SB* VI 9296 (153-161 C.E.); VIII 9766 (117-138 C.E.); 9862 (148-154 C.E.); X 10562 (146-160 C.E.); *Stud.Pal.* IV pp. 114-5 (102 C.E.); *Stud.Pal.* IV p. 116 (II C.E.). In *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2857 (134 C.E.) the term *diathêkê* denotes a Roman will.

²⁹ *BGU* VII 1654 (after 133 C.E.); *CPR* I 18 = *Stud.Pal.* XX 4 = *M.Chr.* 84 (124 C.E.); *CPR* I 24 = *Stud.Pal.* XX 5 = *M.Chr.* 288 (136 C.E.); *CPR* I 25 (136 C.E.); VI 1 (125 C.E.); XV 49 (II C.E.); *P.Col.* VIII 213 (84-105 C.E.); *P.Hamb.* IV 278 (ca. 190 C.E.); *P.Lund.* VI 6 = *SB* VI 9356 (190/1 C.E.); *P.Vind.Sal.* 5 (192 C.E.); *SB* XIV 11642 (after 178/9 C.E.). It is noteworthy, however, that in three of these cases – *CPR* I 24; 25; VI 1 – the term relates to the same will. The term denotes a Roman will in *BGU* I 340 (after 148/9 C.E.); VII 1662 (182 C.E.); *M.Chr.* 327 (170 C.E.).

In sharp contrast, when we examine the ca. 5,100 documentary papyri whose provenance is known to be one of the Arsinoite villages, the term *diathêkê* is used to denote a Greek will in only three, or at the most four cases.³⁰ Statistically, then, the Greek *diathêkê* is a non-existent phenomenon in the Arsinoite villages. The same picture may be conveyed by the *anagraphê* lists recording legal documents composed through the *grapheion* in the village of Tebtunis in some segments of time between 42 and 46 C.E., in which not a single *diathêkê* is recorded.³¹ The *meriteiai*, by contrast, seem to have been fairly rare in the nome's capital: the source material from Ptolemais Euergetis yields no more than three instruments of this type, two of which are *meriteiai* attached to a marriage document.³² In the villages, on the other hand, we have as many as 28 documents of this kind.³³ The popularity of the *meriteia* in the villages is also witnessed to in the aforesaid registry of

³⁰ [BGU I 256 (137-142 C.E. – Karanis)]; *P.Kron.* 12 = *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 226 (135 C.E. – Tebtunis); *P.Lond.* II 177 p. 167 = *M.Chr.* 57 (ca. 40 C.E. – Bacchias); *P.Tebt.* II 489^v (127 C.E. – Tebtunis). The deed of sale BGU VII 1642 (II C.E. – Philadelphia) relates to a piece of land which, according to the restoration of the editors, devolved upon the vendor through his father's *diathêkê* (lines 5-6). The purchaser is, at the same time, a resident of Ptolemais Euergetis. Should this be the case with the vendor as well, a composition of the will in the nome's capital would become plausible. The term *diathêkê* is also usual in the Arsinoite villages to denote Roman wills: BGU I 326 = *M.Chr.* 316 (194 C.E. – Karanis (?)); VII 1655 (169 C.E. – Philadelphia); *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 29 (ca. 150 C.E. – Karanis); *P.Diog.* 9 (186-210 C.E. (?) – Philadelphia (?)); *P.Hamb.* I 73 (II C.E. – Philadelphia (?)); *PSI* VII 738 (100 C.E. – Philadelphia); *SB* V 7558 (173 C.E. (?) – Karanis); XVIII 13219 (15 C.E. – Aueris). There are also some cases in which the type of *diathêkê* referred to is not made clear in the papyrus; cf. BGU III 786 (ca. 161 C.E. – Soknopaiou Nesos); IV 1037 (48 C.E. – Karanis).

³¹ One should also consider the possibility, however, that *diathêkai* were registered in a different roll, as the one from the third century B.C.E. reedited by W. Clarysse in *P.Petr.*² I. Cf. also *P.Münch.* III 140 (I C.E. – Oxyrhynchos (?)).

³² *P.Mich.* XVIII 785 (47/61 C.E.)—an independent deed; BGU I 252.10-15 (81 C.E.); *CPR* I 28.8-28 (110 C.E.)—attached to a marriage document. *P.Diog.* 11 with its second copy *P.Diog.* 12 (213 C.E.) which is commonly incorporated in the same list as the *meriteiai*, is not a *meriteia* at all, but rather a formulaic *sui generis* whose peculiar nature can be attributed to the haste in which it was written in face of the imminent death of the testatrix; cf. *P.Diog.*, pp. 102-3.

³³ Cf. above, n. 6.

documents from Tebtunis, where *meriteiai* are recorded in no less than 14 entries.³⁴

We should now consider the causes of this remarkable diversity. Scholars include in lists of *donationes mortis causa*, alongside our *meriteiai*, the Ptolemaic deed of bequest BGU III 993 (127 B.C.E. - Hermonthis). This document was evidently written in an Egyptian milieu, and is believed to reflect Egyptian hereditary practices.³⁵ Since it is considered a direct precursor of the *meriteiai*, the emergence of their scheme at the beginning of the Roman period could be taken as deriving from some Egyptian influence. Furthermore, it has been shown that Egyptians were inclined to make hereditary arrangements in the framework of their marriage documents.³⁶ The existence of a similar practice in the case of the *meriteiai* could therefore be seen as yet another indication of the Egyptian roots of this type of deed.³⁷ The same explanation can find another corroboration in the Egyptian descent of those villagers that are reported as principals in *meriteiai* in the first century C.E. Arsinoites.

The "Egyptian explanation" cannot be discarded. It even finds some support in *P.Moscow.dem.* 123, a Demotic deed of last will from 69 B.C.E., whose scheme shows close resemblance to that of

³⁴ *P.Mich.* II 121^v 1.9; 9.4; 10.6; 11.19 (all four from 42 C.E. Tebtunis); 123^r 2.29; 7.22; 8.20; 12.30; 13a.6; 21.25 (all six from 45/6 C.E. Tebtunis); V 238 1.42; 3.151; 5.236; 5.247 (all four from 46 C.E. Tebtunis). The term could also designate a deed of gift *inter vivos*. Cf. *P.Mich.* V 322a (46 C.E. – Tebtunis). On the difficulty of distinguishing between the two cases cf. Kreller, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 210.

³⁵ Arangio-Ruiz, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 188-91; Kreller, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 217-8; Montevicchi, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 85-6; E. Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte* (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New-York 1962²) 179-80; Taubenschlag, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 205.

³⁶ Cf. e.g. C.J. Martin, "Marriages and the Family in Ancient Egypt, II. Marriages, Wills and Leases of Land: Some Notes on the Formulae of Demotic Contracts," in M.J. Geller, H. Maehler (Eds.), *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World* (London 1995) 58-78 at 59.

³⁷ Cf. above, n. 6.

the *meriteiai* from the early Roman period.³⁸ At the same time, in order to put the Egyptian explanation on firmer ground, one needs to show that Greeks, when faced with the need to make hereditary disposition, would be inclined to apply the scheme of the *diathêkê* rather than that of the *meriteia*. This happens to be true, yet all Greeks who do so are also residents of a *metropolis*.³⁹ In the *metropoleis*, in turn, the *diathêkê* is in use just as frequently and extensively by persons bearing Egyptian names and patronymics,⁴⁰ as by those whose names indicate a "pure" Greek origin. I suggest that Greeks in the *metropoleis* use the *diathêkê* rather than the *meriteia* not because the former was more Greek than the latter, but rather because it was the routine type of hereditary instrument in their place of residence. In the same vain, the absence of deeds showing the testamentary practices of Greeks (or for that matter any other non-Egyptians, Romans excepted) outside the *metropolis* does not allow to establish whether the *meriteia* was a popular testamentary act among Egyptians in the villages because it was particularly Egyptian, or simply because this was the most common type of deed of last will in their communities.

For this reason, a different explanation should be sought for the diverse documentary practices in the *metropolis* and in the *villages*. The *lex Julia de vicesima hereditatum* imposed in 6 C.E. a 5% tax on estates inherited by Roman citizens.⁴¹ The need to keep track of these estates led to the introduction of a new procedure which made obligatory the opening of wills before a public official in a public place in the presence of some of the witnesses who sealed the

³⁸ J.F. Oates, "Observations on a Demotic Will (69 B.C.) of a Katoikos Hippeus," *BSAA* 46 (2000) 29-38. I thank Professor Oates for discussing this piece of evidence with me.

³⁹ *BGU* VII 1654; *P.Oxy.* III 493; 494; VI 968 *descr.* (?); *P.Ryl.* II 153; *SB* XVIII 13232.

⁴⁰ In the ἀναγραφὴ διαθηκῶν *P.Münch.* III 140 (I C.E. – Oxyrhynchos (?)), for example, appear records of *diathêkai* that were composed by Harthônīs, Taamoīs, Papontôs and Sinthônīs, alongside that drawn up by Dionysia daughter of Hermodôros.

⁴¹ Cf. L. Neesen, *Untersuchungen zu den direkten Staatsabgaben der römischen Kaiserzeit* (27 v.Chr. - 284 n.Chr.). *Antiquitas* I.32 (Bonn 1980) 136-40.

document when it was issued.⁴² Non-Romans were not subject to this inheritance tax.⁴³ Yet they were ready to take advantage of the enhanced security provided by the new procedure for their wills as well.⁴⁴ The earliest piece of evidence relating to the formal act of opening of a Greek will dates to 133 C.E.⁴⁵ However, in it a well established procedure seems to be followed, wherefore it is plausible that the formal act of opening was introduced for Greek wills much earlier than that, sometime perhaps in the first century C.E.⁴⁶ After the *diathêkê* was composed, it was sealed by the testator by the six witnesses, who attended its act of composition, and was kept in a public archive. When the testator died, the *diathêkê* was recovered from that archive, and at least four of the witnesses (or their representatives) were summoned to identify their seals. Then the will was opened, read, copied, and resealed by the witnesses present at the act of the opening. Copies issued on such occasions are our most instructive pieces of evidence on this procedure.⁴⁷

⁴² Cf. especially *Pauli Sententiae*, 4.6. Amelotti, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 183-90. In the papyri, the act of opening a Roman will is attested in *BGU* I 161 = II 448 = *M.Chr.* 310 (150-154 C.E. – Arsinoites (?)); 326 (194 C.E. – Karanis (?)); 361 (184 C.E. – Arsinoites); VII 1655 (169 C.E. – Philadelphia); XIII 2244 (186 C.E. – Alexandria); *P.Diog.* 10 = *P.Coll.Youtie* I 64 = *ChLA* XLVII 1403 (211 C.E. – Ptolemais Euergetis); *P.Hamb.* I 73 = *SB* III 6273 (II C.E. – Philadelphia (?)); *P.Laur.* I 4 (246 C.E. – Hermopolites); *P.Lond.* II 171b, p. 175 (III C.E. – Phebichis); *P.Oxy.* VI 907 = *M.Chr.* 317 = *FIRA*³ 51 (276 C.E. – Oxyrhynchos); XXII 2348 (224 C.E. – Oxyrhynchos); LIV 3758.134-55; 3758.181-213 (both from 325 C.E. Oxyrhynchos); LX 4075 (318 C.E. (?) – Oxyrhynchos); LXIII 4354 (307 C.E. – Oxyrhynchos); *P.Ross.Georg.* II 26 (160 C.E. – Arsinoites); *P.Ryl.* II 109 (235 C.E. – Hermopolis).

⁴³ Neesen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 41) 139.

⁴⁴ On the attempts to accord wills with highest degree of security possible cf. Kreller, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 313-28, and also in the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* 7: διαθῆκαι, ὅσαι μὴ κατὰ δημοσίους χρηματισμοὺς γίνωνται, ἄκυροί εἰσι.

⁴⁵ *P.Köln* II 100 (Oxyrhynchos).

⁴⁶ The lack of earlier accounts on the opening procedure is probably due to the absence of Greek *diathêkai* that can be safely dated to the period before Domitian.

⁴⁷ *P.Lund.* VI 6.17-21 (190/191 C.E. – Tebtunis/Ptolemais Euergetis); *P.Köln* II 100.35-40 (133 C.E. – Oxyrhynchos); *P.Oxy.* III 494.31-43 (156 C.E. – Oxyrhynchos).

Under normal circumstances the act was to be performed before the *strategos*, who also heard complaints regarding the authenticity of the will or the admissibility of the act of opening itself.⁴⁸ The opening of the will could be supervised also by other persons, yet their identity was not left to the discretion of the beneficiaries. They had, rather, to be selected for that task, perhaps by the *strategos* himself.⁴⁹ The *strategos*, although present at times in different parts of the nome,⁵⁰ resided and acted primarily in the nome's capital.⁵¹ In addition, in the two cases where persons other than the *strategos* supervise the opening of wills, they are metropolitans: in one case the persons in charge are a former *agoranomos* and a former *kosmêtês*, in another they are two former high priests in the *Hadrianeion*.⁵² If the appointment of metropolitans for that task was a matter of course and the *metropolis* was also where they actually opened the wills, its implication must have been that after the death of the testator the beneficiaries and the witnesses had to appear in the *metropolis* and wait there for the will to be opened by the person in charge. This was undoubtedly more complicated for those living in a distant part of the nome than for the inhabitants of the *metropolis* itself.⁵³ The result must have

⁴⁸ Applications to the *strategos*: BGU I 135 (139-160 C.E. – Memphis); P.Fouad I 32 (174 C.E. – Oxyrhynchos). Documents relating to the involvement of the *strategos* in the opening of wills: BGU II 592.2.5-8 (II C.E. – Arsinoites): χειρογραφῆσαι ἀμφοτέρω τὰ μερᾶ (read: μέρη) ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα γενέσθαι[ι] ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ὅπως λυθῇ ἡ διαθήκη καὶ γνωσθῶσι οἱ κληρονόμοι; P.Fouad 36.14-15 (167 C.E. – Oxyrhynchos).

⁴⁹ P.Mert. II 75.1-5 (185 C.E. – Oxyrhynchos): Χαιρήμονι καὶ Θέωνι, ἀμφοτέροις ἀρχιερατεύσασιν τοῦ σεβασμιοτάτου Ἀδριανίου, αἰρεθεῖσι πρὸς τῇ λύσει τῶν διαθηκῶν. Cf. also P.Oxy. XLIV 3166.1-4 (187 C.E. – Tholthis).

⁵⁰ Cf. e.g. P.Fam.Tebt. 19 = SB VI 9252 (118 C.E. – Arsinoites) ; P.Mil.Vogl. I 27 (129 C.E. – Tebtunis).

⁵¹ Hohlwein, *Le stratège du nome* (Brussels 1969, repr.) 30, 36. This was probably the case also in the tripartite period in the Arsinoite nome (12-136 C.E.); cf. P.Fay. 119 (ca. 103 C.E. – Euhemeria) relating to the *strategos* of the *Themistos meris* as located in the *polis*.

⁵² Cf. above, n. 49.

⁵³ The complication of summoning the witnesses for the act of opening wills are exemplified by Gaius, the seventh book on the Provincial Edict = D. 29.3.7:

been that most villagers strove to avoid this complication by recording their hereditary dispositions in a different type of instrument, which was not subject to this opening procedure.

As shown above, one central element in the act of opening a will was that by which the witnesses identified their seals. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that in each and every will—in the section in which the witness gave evidence of the act, he also gave a description of his own seal.⁵⁴ In *meriteiai*, the attendance of witnesses seems to have been a common practice as well, not however a rule without exception.⁵⁵ If the act was witnessed, the attending witnesses could attach their seals to it, just as they did in the case of a *diathêkê*. However, as the source material shows, this was not always the case.⁵⁶ Unlike in the case of *diathêkai*, then, attaching the seals to the *meriteia* was not one of its *essentialia negotii*.

While in the case of wills the recurring attachment of seals was necessitated by the opening procedure, their absence from some of the *meriteiai* may indicate that such a procedure never became standard practice in this type of document. In fact, we have only one attested case of an opening of a *meriteia*, which is, at the same time, in complete accordance with the foregoing explanation, for it

Sed si quis ex signatoribus aberit, mitti debent tabulae testamenti ubi ipse sit, uti adgnoscat: nam revocari eum adgoscendi causa onerosum est. quippe saepe cum magna captione a rebus nostris revocamur et sit iniquum damnosum cuique esse officium suum.

⁵⁴ Fifteen out of the 21 Greek wills dating to the period before the *constitutio Antoniniana* contain accounts of seals: *CPR* I 6; *P.Köln* II 100; *P.Lund.* VI 6; *P.Oxy.* I 105; III 489; 490; 491 = *M.Chr.* 304; 492; 494 = *M.Chr.* 305; 634 *descr.*; 646 *descr.*; LXVI 4533; *P.Stras.* VI 546; *P.Wisc.* I 13; *PSI* XII 1263. Not a single one does not.

⁵⁵ No witnesses are recorded in *BGU* I 183 or in *BGU* I 251, where a *meriteia* is appended to a marriage document. Also no witnesses in *P.Mich.* V 321 – a draft; XV 785a+b; *P.Münch.* III 80; *P.Stras.* VII 603. Cf. L. Mitteis, *Grundzüge und Chresthomatie der Papyruskunde* I (Leipzig-Berlin 1912) 245.

⁵⁶ In six *meriteiai* witnesses are reported attaching their seals to the deed: *BGU* I 86; II 483; *SB* VI 9377; VIII 9642 (4); (5); (6). In three other they are not: *P.Col. Inv.* 518; *SB* V 7559; VIII 9642 (1).

originates from Ptolemais Euergetis.⁵⁷ All that it shows, in my view, is that a *meriteia* could be accorded with enhanced security by submitting it to the very opening procedure available in the *metropolis* for the *diathêkai*. It does not imply, however, that the opening procedure was obligatory or even common for *meriteiai* in general.

To sum up, in this paper an attempt was made to describe the patterns of drawing up deeds of last wills by non-Romans in Egypt prior to the *constitutio Antoniniana*. It was shown that, alongside the Greek *diathêkê*, another type of document was widely in use. In discussing the latter, the term *donatio mortis causa*—commonly in use by scholars—was deliberately avoided. Instead I preferred to use the term *meriteia*, as the deed is frequently designated in the source material from the first and early second century. Other distinctive features set aside, it was argued that the only manifest difference between the *meriteia* and the *diathêkê* was that the former was composed mainly in the villages and the latter mainly in the *metropoleis*, a geographical distinction that was accounted for through the fact that non-Romans followed the Roman example in submitting their *diathêkai* to a procedure of a formal opening under the supervision of an official—mostly the *strategos*. Since in all the attested cases these officials were acting from the *metropolis*, using this procedure was a much more viable option for the inhabitants of that metropolis than for their counterparts from the villages. This observation does not imply, of course, that the practice of drawing up *diathêkai* vanished from the villages altogether. It does explain, however, the popularity in the villages of the *meriteia*, a type of instrument which for all that we know never became subject to a formal act of opening.

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⁵⁷ PSI III 189.18-20 (157/161 C.E. – Ptolemais Euergetis): – – – ποι]ῆσαι συγχωρήματος τελειωθ[έντος – – – Ἀντωνίνου ? καίσαρος τοῦ] κυρίου μηνι Θώθ, λυθέντι[ος δὲ – – –] . . . ὡν τῷ ἐξῆς ιθ (ἔτει) μηνί[νι – – –].

SPECIAL REVIEW ARTICLE

BASTIANINI, GUIDO and CLAUDIO GALLAZZI (eds.), *Papiri dell'Università degli Studi di Milano – VIII. Posidippo di Pella: Epigrammi* (P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309). Con la collaborazione di COLIN AUSTIN. Milan: LED - Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto, 2001. xv + 258 pages + 16 bound plates + one pullout plate + two CDs. ISBN 88-7916-165-2. EURO 259,00.

AUSTIN, C. and G. BASTIANINI. *Posidippi Pellaei Quae Super-sunt Omnia*. Milan: LED - Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto, 2002. ISBN 88-7916-193-8. EURO 18,00.

In 1992 the State University of Milan, with the support of the Fondazione CARIPLO, obtained a large papyrus roll found in the pectoral cartonnage of an Egyptian mummy reported to have been in Europe for many years previously. The papyrus, containing on its recto side a professionally copied collection of Greek epigrams that total some 610 verses, about 110 poems, was first announced in a review of the Fondazione CARIPLO's periodical "Ca' de Sass" (n. 121, 1993, pp. 28-39) entitled "Il poeta ritrovato: Scoperti gli epigrammi di Posidippo in un pettorale di mummia." This was followed in the same year by the publication, by Bastianini and Gallazzi, of some twenty of the epigrams.¹ The attribution of the discovered epigrams to the third century B.C.E.² poet Posidippus of Pella rested on the identification of two of the epigrams with previously known epigrams of Posidippus, and the absence of verses of any other known epigrammatist in the new collection.³ The announcement of the discovery of these poems coincided with a wide-ranging

¹ *Posidippo. Epigrammi*, a cura di G. Bastianini - C. Gallazzi (Milan 1993).

² All dates are B.C.E., unless otherwise indicated.

³ Both known in Byzantine sources: Tzetzes *Chil.* 653-661 attributes one (II.39-III.7 = *HE* XX) to Posidippus, and one (X.30-33 = *HE* XVIII) is included under Posidippus' name in the Planudean anthology (119).

renewal of interest in epigram, and in epigram collection. The long period of the edition's preparation was one of tantalizing anticipation and some frustration for scholars who recognized that this papyrus might cast significant new light on previous knowledge of the generic evolution of epigram, the aesthetics of collection, and the early poetry book.⁴ Their patience was rewarded, however, with the appearance of the lavish, full edition in the late summer of 2001.

As the publication of an important addition to Greek literature, *P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309* immediately met with an enthusiastic reception that has resulted in an extraordinary APA panel in North America, four international conferences, four conference volumes, a web-site sponsored by the Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies, and a continuing onrush of scholarship that treats these poems from a variety of perspectives.⁵ This review is, perhaps inevitably, informed in part by these developments, and so, in an unusual sense, looks back to its subject from a vantage point of the reception that its subject occasioned. Less appreciated at present is the potential of the information derived from the roll to contribute substantially

⁴ Major recent contributions to the study of Hellenistic epigram include A. Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford 1993); D. Sider, *The Epigrams of Posidippus* (Oxford 1997); K. Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context* (Berkeley 1998); P. Bing, "Between Literature and the Monuments," in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds.), *Genre in Hellenistic Poetry* (Groningen 1998). The Groningen Hellenistic Poetry workshop on Hellenistic epigram, now published as *Hellenistic Epigram*, edited by M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (Groningen 2002), took place on the eve of the publication of *P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309*. Following the publication of "Ca' de Sass" 121 and the privately issued preliminary edition of twenty of the epigrams by Bastianini and Gallazzi, many scholars referred, to a greater or lesser extent, to single epigrams in the collection or the collection itself: the editors helpfully provide a list of these in the introductory pages of the 2001 edition (pp. 1-3).

⁵ The four conference volumes are: V. de Angelis (ed.), *Un Poeta Ritrovato—Posidippo di Pella, Giornata di studio Milano 23 novembre 2001* (Milan 2002); B. Acosta-Hughes, M. Baumbach, and E. Kosmetatou (eds.), *Labored in Papyrus Leaves—Perspectives on an Epigram Collection Attributed to Posidippus (P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309)* (Cambridge, Mass.; forthcoming 2003 by Harvard University Press); G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *Il Papiro di Posidippo un anno dopo (Firenze, 13-14 Giugno 2002)*. Studi e Testi di Papirologia, N.S. 4 (Florence 2003); K. Gutzwiller (ed.), *The New Posidippus—A Hellenistic Poetry Book* (Oxford; forthcoming 2004 by Oxford University Press).

to understanding the circumstances of how books in the Greco-Roman world were created and used, especially when studied in the wider context of ancient papyrus rolls in general. In this review, we consider first the more papyrological and bibliological aspects of the roll, together with the editorial characteristics of the edition itself, and then turn to some of the important literary issues that the new papyrus raises, or to the discussion of which it contributes.

The edition consists of two volumes. The first is the 258 page edition itself, comprising prefatory material (pp. vii-xv), an introduction providing a detailed account of the roll and its contents (pp. 1-27), a diplomatic and critical edition of the text (pp. 28-109), and an extensive scholarly commentary (pp. 110-234). The volume concludes with an excellent *index verborum*.

Below the *en face* diplomatic and restored transcriptions of the epigrams, and occupying about half the surface of each page, the editors have placed extensive palaeographical line notes describing the surviving ink of letters that have not succeeded in being read, the ink offsets, on the surface of the Posidippus text, of letters deriving from the documents which were included in the cartonnage, and other noteworthy aspects of the writing. The level of detail provided, which often includes measurements of distances in millimeters between traces of ink, considerably surpasses that given in the palaeographical notes to texts in recent volumes of *P.Oxy.* and in fact would be hard to parallel in any edition of papyri. In an effort to give future scholars the best possible resources for evaluating their work and making further progress in understanding the text, the editors have in essence provided a printed version of their own detailed working notes. Few editors of ancient texts have had this luxury.

Conjectures and supplements are discussed in the scholarly commentary, which also includes an Italian translation at the end of the notes on each epigram in all those cases where translation is possible. One drawback of this structure is that the explications of the many textual conjectures and supplements included in the edited text are to be found in the commentary section placed later in the volume, rather than immediately below the text itself. This is the more regrettable, as a fair number of these readings have now been superseded in a flow of scholarship on the poems that followed

the appearance of the *editio princeps*. Many new suggestions have been proposed by Austin himself in the 2002 *editio minor*, which we consider later in this review. In retrospect, for the *editio princeps* it might have been wiser to present, at least in summary form, all supplements and conjectures in an apparatus on the same pages with the text. Of course, adding such an apparatus alongside the palaeographical apparatus *and* the printed text would have either reduced the amount of the latter per page (thereby limiting the reader's ability to take in large sections of text visually) or required a constriction of the palaeographical notes: obviously this is a dilemma of multifaceted critical editions of texts in general. As the situation stands now, some 18 months following the edition's publication, the critical edition of the text, in some ways the highlight of the volume, is already slightly dated. At the time of this writing readers will want to consult first the *editio minor*, and to be aware that the text of the epigrams is still subject to a fair amount of emendation.⁶

On the other hand, two extremely important features of the *editio princeps* will remain of enduring value. First, the commentary will serve as an invaluable resource for years to come. It has already been, and will continue to be, the stepping-stone, as it were, for the wealth of scholarly material that has followed the publication of this edition. The epigrams of *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309 comprise an array of wide-ranging thematic areas: gem stones, divination, statuary, and horse-racing among others (see our more detailed discussion below). The editors have produced a commentary remarkable for its learning and its critical acumen: their work has made much subsequent scholarship possible, and we are all greatly in their debt. Second, the palaeographical line notes, written with extreme detail and care, provide a firm foundation for all further work

⁶ To cite a recent example: R. Scodel (*ZPE* forthcoming) has proposed for X 25 (AB 63.10) reading ἄκειμ]αι for the editors' ἄκειτ]αι. This reading, which has the advantage of rendering the conjectured αὐδῆς]οντι of line 7 without an object much more palatable, also has the advantage of inscribing an epigram within an epigram: the statue of Philetas reads its own inscription. Extensive discussion of the text and new suggestions are offered by W. Lapini in his "Osservazioni sul nuovo Posidippo (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309)," *Lexis* 20 (2002) 35-60.

on the text, especially when they are read together with the array of printed and electronic images supplied in the second volume.⁷

Housed in that second volume, "Immagini," are (1) a 1:1 pullout, printed color reproduction of the recto of the papyrus, enabling the modern reader to spatially and visually encounter the new Posidippus as similarly as possible to the way in which the ancient user interacted with the artifact; (2) 16 printed infrared photos of the individual papyrus columns enlarged by 40% (the photo of each column includes partial overlaps with the preceding and following columns, thereby maximizing the reader's visual orientation as well as fostering a sense of the continuity of the roll as a physical object); and (3) two CDs with images of the papyrus, one of each column in black and white and one in color of the entire papyrus. The resulting ability to view the papyrus at different resolutions which the computer images allow is yet another valuable aspect of this extremely thorough edition. The images are stored as TIFF files: substantial RAM is needed to open these (particularly the color file of the papyrus). Following the edition's publication, there was some concern that the high price caused by the inclusion of the CDs in particular would greatly limit the access of many, particularly students, to the new poems: this problem has been happily resolved with the appearance of the *editio minor*.

To return to the rich array of information discussed in the introduction to the main volume, the first section (pp. 3-11, "Il cartonnage"), incorporating some revised material from the 1993 pre-publication, begins with a review of the mummy pectoral, the reconstruction of the composition of which in Milan produced color-coded drawings detailing at length the steps by which the makers of

⁷ The importance which the editors have placed on papyrological documentation, as well as their own "strict constructionist" view of the proper task of papyrologists, emerge in the preface, p. viii: "Del piccolo tesoro che ci è stato affidato abbiamo cercato di fare l'uso migliore: abbiamo restaurato il papiro, abbiamo trascritto le sue righe e le abbiamo commentate. Ma non abbiamo mai pensato di realizzare un lavoro esaustivo sui versi del rotolo, perché siamo convinti che il compito dei papirologi sia quello di recuperare i testi antichi e a metterli a disposizione di altri studiosi, che talvolta non hanno dimestichezza con papyri guastati o *ostraka* abrasi, ma che, rispetto ai papirologi, possiedono un patrimonio di conoscenza ben più ampio in campo letterario o storico, giuridico o economico."

the cartonnage folded and cut the Posidippus roll and five papyrus documents in order to create their product.⁸ The pectoral is apparently unique in the two small extensions which it displays at the top, in the area of either shoulder, extensions which the editors believe facilitated better adherence between pectoral and mask as well as helping to conceal the mummy wrappings. The dates of the documents—two ὑπομνήματα directed to the strategi of the Arsinoite and the Heracleopolite respectively, a μαρτυρία mentioning a village of the Heracleopolite, and two ἐγκλήματα from the Heracleopolite—within the period 188-177 constitute important evidence potentially bearing on the history of the Posidippus roll and its period and circumstances of use. The proveniences of the documents suggest that the pectoral was manufactured in the Heracleopolite or in the southeastern Arsinoite.⁹ As possible cemetery areas in which the mummy was placed the editors, noting the sizeable amount of cartonnage recovered from these areas from the nineteenth to the late twentieth century, propose a range of sites in the Heracleopolite, such as Illahun, Hawara, Gurob, Abusir-el-Melek, and Sedment, or, less probably, a site along the southern borders of the Fayum between Medinet Nehas and Sedment.

Of course, as the editors note, the provenience of the mummy does not in itself reveal the place of manufacture or the history of the use of the Posidippus roll. The book's contents and its visual attractiveness tempt us to think of the roll as a product of Alexandria, and as a parallel for this the editors cite P.Vindob.G 40611, a nearly contemporary roll derived from cartonnage and containing 200-plus epigram-*incipits*, for which a case for Alexandrian origin can be made.¹⁰ If this were the case with the Milan roll we have no way of knowing whether it is actually an artifact testifying to the reading in the χώρα of a sophisticated epigram collection deriving from

⁸ The pectoral arrived in Milan already disassembled, including some 180 pieces of papyrus of varying size.

⁹ The five documents are to be published in *P.Mil.Vogl.* IX under the numbers 320-324.

¹⁰ Preliminary report in *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology* (Chico 1981) 49-53; cf. *CPR* XVIII, p. 1 on the cartonnage. See the discussion of D. Obbink and S. Stephens in Acosta-Hughes/Baumbach/Kosmetatou 2003 (above, n. 5).

Greek culture or whether it simply found its way, at the end of its useful life in the capital, into the raw materials bin of a cartonnage maker in Middle Egypt—much as apparently happened with the Alexandrian documents of *BGU IV* which were recovered at Abusir-el-Meleq.

In the second section (pp. 11-13, "La struttura del rotolo") the editors reconstruct insofar as is possible the physical characteristics and the history of the roll prior to its recycling. Much has been learned in this process of study, and the information is set forth clearly and in a manner that will facilitate ongoing discussion leading to further insights. The material aspects of the papyrus are of importance not only because the Posidippus roll gives us an especially good opportunity to document extensively the features of an ancient book but also because they provide potential evidence bearing on many of the pressing issues that surround the creation and the use of this particular epigram collection. The roll itself, reconstituted by the restorers from 22 pieces (of which three provide most of the text, the remainder being small scraps) to a length of 152.8 cm. representing 16 columns, is incomplete at the end as it currently stands, and this fact has an important bearing on our understanding of the epigram collection and its arrangement as discussed further below.¹¹

The reconstructed roll begins with an unusually narrow (5.5. cm.) *protokollon* having its edge glued underneath the first sheet rather than over it. These uncommon features the editors explain with the hypothesis, supported by parallels ranging from the New Kingdom to the third century C.E., that this is a replacement *protokollon* and that the original one (together with part of the first *kollema* of the roll proper) was torn off too close to the beginning of the first column of text to allow the new one to be attached in the normal fashion without obscuring part of the writing. Such a sequence of events allows for the book, in its pristine form, to have included a substantial blank space between the *protokollon* and

¹¹ For detailed information on the length of rolls, see A. Blanchard, "Les papyrus littéraires grecs extraits de cartonnages: Etudes de bibliologie," in M. Maniaci and P. Munafò (eds.), *Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques* (Vatican 1993) 15-40, especially 37ff.

Column I; this space could have contained the title of the work.¹² Finally, the editors take note of another text, "testo letterario di contenuto mitologico," apparently of the early second century, that was written upside down with respect to the recto text and in four broad columns occupying nearly half of the extant verso of the roll. No further particulars are given, although this text, abraded and incrustated with *gesso* but recoverable at least in part, is to be edited as part of *P.Mil.Vogl.* IX. Especially given the increasing consciousness among papyrologists in recent years of the importance of investigating the reuse of rolls, it will be most interesting to see what the verso proves to contain.

The third introductory section (pp. 13-16, "Impaginazione, scrittura, correzioni e aggiunte") provides extensive documentation about the initial writing of the text and about subsequent additions. As in other parts of the edition which are concerned with data, a good basis is provided for further investigation by other scholars, not only those concerned with the text and interpretation of Posidippus or with this particular papyrus but also those who focus on the history of the papyrus roll. Several points may be highlighted here. With carefully collected figures on the near-uniformity in size and line content (38-41 letters) of each column, as well as extended discussion of the individual letter characteristics of the "grafia libraria e abbastanza accurata" of the principal hand, the editors document the high-quality features which point to the origin of the book in a *scriptorium*. The majority of the corrections (nearly all of them involving single letters, or at most three, and generally resulting from simple errors or omissions) are due to the writer of the text, Hand 1, whose interventions were carefully executed with an eye toward preserving the uniform appearance of the book as much as possible. These corrections extend throughout the roll and were apparently made during or immediately after the writing of the main text. Hand 2, employing writing described by the editors as "quasi documentaria" and clearly standing out from that of Hand 1, made three additions in Columns IV and V. The editors, while allowing that this hand could be that of a revisor in the *scriptorium*,

¹² See G. Bastianini, "Tipologie dei rotoli e problemi di ricostruzione," *Atti del V Seminario Internazionale di Papirologia, Lecce 27-29 giugno 1994* = *Papirologica Lupiensia* 4 (1995) 21-42, especially 27ff.

rightly express doubts about such a hypothesis, especially as the revisions concern only one part of the text, and offer as a better possibility that Hand 2 represents simply a reader who was especially interested in one particular section of the roll. The changes by Hand 2 are to three different epigrams, the fourth, seventh, and ninth of the *oionoskopika* section (cf. below), and include supplying the entire verse IV.27, which had been left blank by Hand 1 during the initial copying of the text. The occasion of and motives for the corrections by Hand 2 must at present remain a matter of speculation. Hand 3 ("sicuramente un lettore" according to the editors), using a broad pen and employing a less careful bookhand, seems to have concentrated his attention on Column XI, where he noted a variant reading in the upper margin and rewrote or retraced the opening letters of four lines which had been damaged by damp at some point during the lifetime of the book. From a perusal of the restored transcription of the poems, it becomes clear that in spite of these various correction activities, the vast majority of errors were not corrected. A number of them are not errors in terms of the common practice of the period, but rather orthographic matters such as the omission of *iota*-adscript or the assimilation, at the end of a monosyllabic word, of *nu* to *gamma* preceding a guttural consonant, as in ἐὰν χρῆν. A comprehensive study should be made, however, of all the errors, and indeed of scribal practice in the Milan roll in general, in the context of the information that we possess about Greek book rolls of the Ptolemaic period.

The text was provided with thorough stichometric notation consisting of single points placed every ten lines in the margin and totals of lines recorded in the margin at the end of each section of the collection (*lithika*, etc.; cf. below). Totaling the numbers of lines for sections, rather than for columns, is an unusual procedure, although the editors note a kind of parallel in the tallying of the number of verses at the end of each book in several Homeric papyri. Seeking to utilize the few palaeographical clues available for establishing the writer of this notation, the editors cite the presence of a particular apex on *kappa* which they say seems to be derived from documentary writing. Although they are inclined to believe that this tends to exclude the possibility that Hand 1 is responsible for the stichometric notes, they astutely allow for the fact that a single

writer can have different writing modes—for example a "documentary" one and a "literary" one, both of which he might utilize in the course of writing on the same piece of papyrus.

An especially tantalizing feature that is discussed quite fully is the occasional presence (generally at the first line of an epigram, and in any case apparently referring to the whole poem) of a marginal sequence $\tau\omicron\upsilon$. This the editors, probably correctly, assume (p. 16) to be $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ($\tau\omicron$). There are only eight examples, all of them assigned to Hand 1. Only one occurs in the earlier part of the roll, at poem 5 of the *anathematika* section (VI.38-VII.2), accompanied by a stroke in the lower margin which may have been intended to highlight it in some way. The other occurrences are clustered in the later columns of the roll: at *andriantopoiika* poems 8 and 9 (XI.12-15, 16-19); at *hippika* poems 2, 3, 8, and 17 (XI.25-28, 29-32, XII.16-19, XIII.27-30); and at poem 3 of a fragmentary section, unknown with respect to title, just before the roll breaks off (XVI.27ff.). This notation has occasioned much interest: the editors may well be right in their assumption that it represents an annotation of particular epigrams for selection, but the reasons for such a selection remain a point of ongoing scholarly discussion. The editors suggest that such a selection might be meant for private study, or for the compilation of another collection. There may be other possibilities.¹³

A review of palaeographical parallels to Hand 1, including documents attributable to the years 222-213, looks forward to the discussion of the dating of the manuscript in the following, fourth section (p. 17). There, a case is made for the late-third century character of the decoration and proportions of the letters, and the palaeographical data are combined with the *terminus post quem* of 247 suggested by victories of Berenice II referred to in the *hippika* section,¹⁴ the palaeographical parallels to the verso text (ranging

¹³ See the discussion of the papyrus in W. Johnson, "The Posidippus Papyrus: Bookroll and Reader," in Gutzwiller 2004 (see above, n. 5).

¹⁴ It should be noted that D.J. Thompson, "Posidippus, Poet of the Ptolemies," in Gutzwiller 2004 (above, n. 5) thinks the Berenice of 78.10 (XII.29), 13-14 (XII.32-33); 80 (XIII.1-4); 82 (XIII.9-14); and 84 (XIII.19-22) [references in arabic numerals are to the numbering of the poems in the *editio minor*; cf. below] is Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II and wife of Antiochus II of Syria. This would make it possible to move the *terminus* back a bit.

from 195-173), and the dates of the five physically associated documents to arrive at a suggested date for the writing of the Posidippus text toward the end of the third century. The more technical aspects of the volume's introductory material are rounded out later on by the sixth and seventh sections (pp. 19-22), which discuss spelling in the manuscript (quite normal for the period) and the metrical and dialectal characteristics (special concentrations of doricisms in poems on athletic victors and on subjects relatable to the Peloponnese) of the epigrams.¹⁵

The introduction's fifth section (pp. 17-19, "Il contenuto del rotolo") addresses one of the most remarkable features of the papyrus, the division of the poems into thematic sections, to which we have already referred. Sections are introduced by headings, centered in the column. The sections represented in the extant roll are: [λιθι]κὰ (this title, at the top of Column I, cannot be read except possibly in the most fragmentary form—even with the help of the infrared photographs—but does seem appropriately conjectured for these poems), οἰωνοσκοπικά (poems of divination), ἀναθεματικά, ἐπιτύμβια (a section title conjectured by the editors—see their discussion on p. 157), ἀνδριαντοποιικά, ἱππικά, ναυαγικά, ἰαματικά, and the enigmatic τρόποι (yet another section heading stood at XVI.18, but it does not survive, and the following tiny bits of three poems that are left before the roll breaks off provide scanty material for conjecturing a theme).¹⁶ The sections vary in length, and appear to be ordered with an eye to artistic arrangement through variation of section size and theme. The section headings are striking both for the absence of some better known epigram categories (e.g. ἐρωτικά, ἐπιδεικτικά) and the inclusion of at least one (οἰωνοσκοπικά) of which we had little earlier knowledge. The sense of the last remaining heading, τρόποι, is somewhat debated (see the editors' comments on p. 229).¹⁷ The section headings are indicative of an

¹⁵ See further below, note 21.

¹⁶ XVI.19 εἶσρος ἢ Ζεφ[υρ] could be compatible with an erotic, sympotic, or seasonal theme, as the editors point out (p. 234).

¹⁷ The editors (p. 229) discuss a few possible meanings for this section heading, the first being τρόποι as "character traits," the second τρόποι as "modi," nel senso di "modi di rivolgere il discorso, modi di approccio." "One thought might

aesthetic/critical ordering, reflected in both the juxtaposition of sections and the arrangement of poems within sections: it is in a way unfortunate that they were not included within the text(s) of the *editio minor*, although they are given on p. 21 (*Textus*) just before the epigrams.

At the time this edition first appeared, there was real debate¹⁸ on the attribution of all of the epigrams to Posidippus (the subject of the eighth section of the introduction, pp. 22-24). While two of the epigrams are known to be attributed to Posidippus in other sources, the remaining 100+ epigrams have no similar testimony.¹⁹ The editors' arguments for Posidippean authorship of the entire collection rest on: (1) the absence of individual attributions and therefore the assumption that there is one author; (2) the two previously known poems of Posidippus; (3) several marked verbal similarities between some lines of the new poems and extant verses of Posidippus. Doubts as to Posidippean authorship of the whole collection rested primarily on perceived variation in quality among the new poems, and in part on problematic attribution of some already extant poems of Posidippus.²⁰ With the passage of time the majority of scholarly opinion has come out in favor of Posidippean authorship of the whole collection, supported by the metrical and linguistic consistencies of the verses.²¹ Some doubts, nonetheless, remain, and these are worth addressing briefly here: particularly the perceived dis-

be that the *tropoi* involve directed movement, either towards or away from the funerary monument(s) that deliver the epigrams: could the title refer to this physical movement (i.e. *tropoi* = 'turnings')? On the section title see further D. Obbink, "'Tropoi' (Posidippus AB 102-103)," in Acosta-Hughes/Baumbach/Kosmetatou 2003 (above, n. 5).

¹⁸ Particularly at the APA special panel of 2002 in Dallas.

¹⁹ The final seven epigrams (XVI.1-28—the last extant column of the papyrus) are very fragmentary.

²⁰ These arguments are expected to be set forth with particular clarity by H. Lloyd-Jones in his forthcoming review of this same volume.

²¹ On the metrics of the new epigrams see esp. M. Fantuzzi, "La versificazione del P.Mil.Vogl. VIII.309," in *Il papiro di Posidippo un anno dopo* (above, n. 5) 79-97; on the language of the new epigrams, see esp. A. Sens, "Doricisms in the New and Old Posidippus," forthcoming in Acosta-Hughes/Kosmetatou/Baumbach 2003.

crepancies in quality among the epigrams raise a number of interesting (and rather novel) issues.

At one level, perceived discrepancy of quality is subjective: that the new epigrams significantly do not contain some more familiar categories, e.g. erotic and sympotic poems, categories that *are* represented in the pre-Milan Posidippus, may exacerbate this perception. There is then the issue of anthology itself, and of different kinds of collection. Gow assigned 24 epigrams to Posidippus, of which 15 are from the *Palatine Anthology*, the remaining nine from other sources.²² Page in his 1975 *Epigrammata Graeca* assigned 29 epigrams to Posidippus, including five from the fifth and twelfth books of the *AP* ascribed to either Asclepiades or Posidippus in the manuscript tradition, and which Gow assigned to Asclepiades.²³ The epigrams from the fifth and twelfth books of the *AP* are, coincidentally, those that have sympotic and erotic themes, and therefore lack thematic parallels in the new collection. The remainder, several of which *do* have parallels in the new collection, include a number whose authenticity has been called into question, in part due to perceived qualitative inferiority.²⁴ While this is not the place to treat a number of aspects raised here in detail, it is helpful, we believe, to raise two related questions in considering the attribution of the new epigrams to Posidippus:

To what extent does the process of anthologizing itself prefer poems of better quality? (I.e. the non-anthologized epigrams of many epigram authors might not meet expectations established by anthologized poems. *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309, if correctly attributed to one poet, while a collection, is not then an anthology).

²² P. Firmin-Didot preserves *HE* XI and XII: Athenaeus *HE* XIII, XIV, XVI and XVII. *HE* XVIII and XIX are from the *Planudean Anthology*, and Tzetzes *Chil.* 7.660 provides *HE* XX. It is important to note that neither of the earlier known poems found in *P. Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309 is from the *Palatine Anthology*.

²³ The observation that this was Page's attribution is owed to D. Sider: for a full account of the pre-Milan corpus of Posidippus, see his "Posidippus Old and New," in Acosta-Hughes/Kosmetatou/Baumbach 2003 (above, n. 5).

²⁴ See Gow on XVIII, XIX, XX: his remarks on XXI, "Its tenderness or sentimentality does not accord very well with what we know of Pos." is now rendered less true by the many funeral poems of the new collection.

To what extent are our pre-dispositions to attribution conditioned by the familiar (i.e. without the Milan papyrus we know Posidippus primarily as a sympotic and erotic poet)?

The final, ninth section of the introduction (pp. 24-27) treats the collection as an edition: this topic in particular has seen a wide-ranging evolution in the period since the publication of the papyrus, and the bibliography is steadily growing.²⁵ A response to the section is necessarily in part informed by this subsequent scholarship. The papyrus, apparently the product of a *scriptorium*, is itself a selection (and marks itself as such with both section numeration and marginal notation). The sections, both in their own ordering and in their juxtaposition with one another, evince artistic principles of order and variation: there are several ways of reading the ordering of sections, and future criticism will surely provide more. There is clearly one ordering principle that balances sections by size (so e.g. two larger sections, the *epitymbia* and *hippika*, are enclosed by shorter sections). There is further some careful juxtaposition of sections: so for example the *lithika* end with images of the sea, the *oionoskopika* open with nautical imagery, and the first poem of the *anathematika*, celebrating Arsinoe II, follows a poem, the last of the *oionoskopika*, that celebrates Alexander.²⁶ These juxtapositions could very well be the result of arrangement by an editor, rather than composition by a poet with an eye to a larger whole: this touches very much on the question of the editor's identity. Some of the assignments of poems to certain sections and not to others may strike the reader as rather random.²⁷

The editors conclude their introduction by raising one of the more important questions associated with this collection, whether the poet Posidippus might himself be the editor of the collection as well. This last question is one that has already received a fair

²⁵ See esp. K. Gutzwiller, "The Literariness of the Milan Papyrus, or What Difference a Book?" and N. Krevans, "The Editor's Toolbox: Strategies for Selection and Arrangement in the Milan Epigram Papyrus," in Gutzwiller 2004 (above, n. 5).

²⁶ On the order of the *anathematika* see S. Stephens, "For you, Arsinoe ...," in Acosta-Hughes/Kosmetatou/Baumbach 2003 (above, n. 5).

²⁷ This is particularly true of several epigrams in the various funerary sections.

amount of attention, and will continue to do so as scholars contemplate this example of an early Hellenistic poetry book.²⁸ Previously known examples of what may be termed an "author edited poetry book" were Callimachus' *Iambi* and *Aetia*: were Posidippus' not only the hand that composed, but also the one that arranged this collection, we would have a remarkable example of a poet-editor prefiguring Meleager.²⁹ This remains, as the editors note (p. 27), open to discussion, and we may do well to keep the issues of authorship and editorship somewhat separate in approaching the collection. Particularly the arrangement by thematic section has a quite different valence if the editor is not the poet himself.

A few general observations on the epigrams as a collection are in order before highlighting features of individual sections. Emblematic of the Ptolemaic empire of which they are a cultural product, the collection includes places and figures of a broad geographical area.³⁰ A feature the collection shares with other Hellenistic poetry is an interest in figures of a variety of social backgrounds: individual epigrams feature queens, courtiers, artisans, farmers and slaves. Two broader themes that characterize several sections are death, and the pathos of dying, and the sea. The association of death and epigram evolves, in large part, from the original use of epigram as inscribed funerary verse. Especially striking in this collection are the number of categories directly associated with death: the *epitymbia*, *nauagika*, and *tropoi* have death and commemoration as their central motif, but the *oionoskopika* and *iamatika* are also imbued with the imagery of death (and escape from death). The ordering of death poetry under different categories is aesthetically quite revealing. Indeed, given that the remaining categories, *lithika*, *anathematika*, *andriantopoiika*, and *hippika* are largely commemorative, mortality is one of the most prevalent themes of

²⁸ See again the articles by Gutzwiller and Krevans in Gutzwiller 2004 (above, n. 5).

²⁹ On the development of the epigram book see especially Gutzwiller 1998 (above, n. 4).

³⁰ P. Bing has suggested that the *Lithika* in particular may reflect Ptolemaic imperial interests: see his "The Politics and Poetics of Geography in the Milan Posidippus," in Gutzwiller 2004 (above, n. 5).

the whole collection.³¹ Another is water, whether the rivers and the sea that cast up precious stones, favorable omens for seafaring, the shrine of Arsinoe Zephyritis protecting sailors, or the sea that cruelly steals the lives of the speakers of the *nauagika*. A third prevalent characteristic of several of the epigram categories is their "viewing" of collected items in setting, collections that reflect collections.³² So the effect of the *andriantopoiika* evokes a statue gallery in the reader's mind, the *nauagika* a tragic viewing of memorials along the sea coast. As a reflection of the port city of Alexandria, and of a culture given to collection and memorialization, the new epigrams are a window onto a vanished world.

The collection opens with one of the larger sections, indeed the largest (126 verses, 21 epigrams). While the editors' title, [λιθι]κά, is conjectured, it does seem to capture the nature of this section, which comprises poems on a variety of stones beginning with exotic gems, and then progressing through several wondrous stones to end with large boulders. There seem to be several aesthetic stratagems that inform the ordering of the poems. One is geographic: the section opens with the Indian Hydaspes (I.1) and ends in Egypt (IV.6). Another is the arrangement of figures: the earlier poems feature beautiful women who serve as the final "setting" of the gem stones, and thus the epigrams function as ecphrastic portrayals of both. In a self-conscious move away from these female settings, the eighth epigram of this section announces that "neither did woman's neck nor finger wear this carnelian" (I.36ff.), followed by Polycrates' seal ring (II.3-6).³³ There follow several epigrams that focus on the marvels of the figures incised on the gems, and then several that feature stones that are themselves marvels (II.39-III.7, one of the two epigrams known earlier, effects this transition with the highlighted θαῦμα of the epigram's final couplet). The section concludes with

³¹ This is strikingly true in the *lithika* in the contrast of the gems and the human figures that wear the stones.

³² On this aspect of the collection see esp. P. Bing, "Posidippus' *Iamatika*," in Acosta-Hughes/Kosmetatou/Baumbach 2003 (above, n. 5); S. Stephens "For you Arsinoe...", *ibid.*; A. Kuttner, "Carving/Writing a Minor Masterpiece: Posidippus' Cabinet of Gems," in Gutzwiller 2004 (above, n. 5).

³³ All English translations in this review are those of C. Austin in the 2002 *editio minor*.

monumental rock formations, with two images of earthquake. The recollection of Polyphemos casting a boulder at Odysseus' ship in *Od.* 9 is cleverly evoked in the penultimate epigram, where it is rather Poseidon, Polyphemos' father, who hurls the stone: Polyphemos is present in the poem, but as a diving shepherd, in a passage that at once evokes the *Odyssey* and later texts (III.28-41).³⁴ The *lithika* is one of the more interestingly organized sections, and the variation on association of animate figures and inanimate material throughout is very effective.

The *oionoskopika*, another of the larger sections, provides a little known category of epigram, poems on divination (several of these involve birds, but not all). The title, *oionoskopika*, is evident in the papyrus, and intriguingly recalled in the metapoetic phrase οἰωνοσκοπίας τεκμαίρεται of the section's penultimate epigram (VI.3). The sea imagery that closes the *lithika* is picked up in the first epigrams of this section, which then moves away from sea imagery to life on land, and then to war. Again there is an observable metapoetic technique by which an image in one epigram signals the following thematic sequence of epigrams: IV.30-31 εὐ]άντητος ὁδ[οῖο | καὶ περὶ ναυτιλίας figures, in reverse order, the "setting" of the previous and following epigrams, while V.5 καὶ θοὸν ἐν πολέμῳ pre-figures a sequence of epigrams most of which focus on war. There is clearly a great deal of attention paid to arrangement of the epigrams within sections: either the poet himself, or a later editor, has arranged the epigrams with an eye to thematic line and aesthetic appeal.

The *anathematika* is one of the two smallest sections of the new epigrams (the other is the *nauagika*). The predominant figure of these dedicatory poems is Arsinoe II Philadelphus, whose shrine (apparently that at Zephyrium, which figures in two of the pre-Milan Posidippus poems) and whose honors are the focus of four of the six poems. Arsinoe appears in each poem in a different guise: as martial protector, patron of the arts, giver of freedom to the former slave Epicratis (in VI.26-29), and protector of sailors. Together with the *hippika* (which feature two Berenices) the *anathematika* are a

³⁴ See D. Petrain, "Homer, Theocritus and the Milan Posidippus (P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309, Col. III.28-41)," forthcoming in *CJ*.

revealing example of the figure of the royal patron as aesthetic stratagem.

The final poem of the *anathematika*, fragmentary but apparently dealing with death or near-death (VII.5 ἡμιθανῆς δ' ἐών), sequesters the collection's audience into the *epitymbia*, the second longest section of epigrams. The title is supplied by the editors (p. 157), in part following the inscription at the head of AP VII: the designation seems likely, although there is no one word in the texts themselves to support this (as there is, e.g., in the case of the *oionoskopika*). With the exception of the last two epigrams in this section, all depict the deaths of women, and women of a variety of backgrounds and social stations. There is, here too, clearly an aesthetic logic in the arrangement of the poems, and particularly in the juxtaposition of poems of like theme: poems on three initiates are followed by two aged wool-workers, two poems that figure contentment with one's lot, two that vividly evoke grief, two that highlight memory, etc. The section as a whole is a revealing commentary on varieties of expressions of pathos: a few of the pre-Milan collection, particularly HE XVII (on Doricha's tomb) and HE XX1, will now seem less uncharacteristic of Posidippus in light of this section.

The second of the two previously known epigrams appears in the section *andriantopoiika*, a section that effectively creates a "gallery" of statuary in verse.³⁵ While several sculptors are represented in the section, the prominent place of Lysippus is remarkable: Epigrams devoted to his sculpture appear at the section's opening, center, and end (X.8-15, X.30-33, XI.16-19—this last is quite fragmentary), thus effectively framing the whole. These three epigrams share other features: the opening and closing epigrams of the section juxtapose Polyclitus and Lysippus, X.30-33 and XI.16-19 both concern Lysippus' representations of Alexander. Again here, as in the *anathematika* and *hippika*, a royal figure is both celebrated in epigram and is itself a strategic medium for aesthetic arrangement. The ecphrastic character of these poems in particular evokes

³⁵ See A. Sens, "Posidippus on Statues and Hellenistic Literary Criticism," in Gutzwiller 2004 (above, n. 5); A. Stewart, "Poseidippos and the Truth in Sculpture," *ibid.*; E. Kosmetatou, "Vision and Visibility: Art Historical Theory Paints a Portrait of New Leadership in Posidippus' *Andriantopoiika*," in Acosta-Hughes/Baumbach/Kosmetatou 2003 (above, n. 5).

a continued and varied discourse between poetic voice and viewer. A revealing feature of X.8-9 is the address to an "audience" of sculptors: μιμ[ή]σαςθε τάδ' ἔργα, πολυχρονίους δὲ κολοσσῶν, ὃ ζ[ωι]οπλάτται, γ[αί,] παραθεῖτε νόμους, which finds a correspondence in the address to poets at XII.20 (from the *hippika*): εἵπατε, πάντες ἀοιδοί, ἐμὸν [κ]λέος. Both epigrams thus present themselves as artistic canons. And indeed not only the ecphrastic epigrams themselves, but also the aesthetic criticism they embody, will make the section *andriantopoiika* of interest to a broad audience.

Juxtaposed to the *andriantopoiika* are the *hippika*, another of the larger sections of the collection, and again one that evokes statuary representations, here of victorious competitors in horse-racing. Indeed such juxtaposition of sections is one of the structural strategies of the collection: thus the *lithika* and *oionoskopika* both evoke a number of *thaumata* (or perhaps better *terata*), the *anathematika* and *epitymbia* both highlight ritual, the *nauagika* and *iamatika* figure respectively salvation's absence and presence. Among the *hippika* are some of the more stunning poems in the collection: the vivid evocation of horses, judges crowd, and sequence of events distich by distich in XI.33-XII.7 is truly remarkable:³⁶

ἐν Δελφοῖς ἡ πῶλος ὅτ' ἀντιθέουσα τεθρίπποις
 ἄξον<ι> Θεσσαλικῶι κοῦφα συνεξέπεσε
 νεύματι νικήσασα, πολὺς τότε θροῦς ἐλατήρων
 ἦν ἀμφικτύοσιν, Φοῖβ' {ε}, ἐν ἀγωνοθέταις·
 ῥάβδους δὲ βραχέες χαμάδις βάλον, ὥς διὰ κλήρου
 νίκης ἡνιόχων οἰκομένωνν στέφανον·
 ἦδε δὲ δεξιόσειρα χαμαὶ νεύσα[ς] ἀ]κεραίων
 ἐ[κ σ]τηθέων αὐτῇ ῥάβδον ἐφειλκύσατο,
 ἡ δεινὴ θήλεια μετ' ἄρσεσιν· αἱ δ' ἐβόησαν
 φθέγματι[ι] πανδήμωι σύμμιγα μυριάδε[ς]
 κε[ὶν]ηι κηρύξαι στέφανον μέγαν· ἐν θορ[ύβω]ι δὲ
 Καλ[λ]ικ[ρ]άτης δάφνη<ν> ἦρατ' ἀνὴρ Κάμιος[ς],
 Θεοῖσι δ' Ἀδ[ε]λφε[ι]οῖς εἰκὼ ἐναργέα τῶν τότε [ἀγώνω]ν
 ἄρ[μα] καὶ ἡνί[σχον] χάλκεον ὧδ' ἔθετο.

³⁶ The Greek text is that of the *editio princeps*.

Competing at Delphi in the four-horse chariot race
 the filly nimbly made it neck and neck with a Thessalian carriage
 and won by a hair: there was then great uproar from the drivers,
 O Phoebus, in front of the Amphictyonic umpires,
 In no time they threw their rods to the ground, to make
 the drivers draw lots for the victory crown.
 Our right-hand tracer, nodding her head downwards,
 in pure innocence herself picked up a rod,
 a daring girl among the males. The myriads all together
 shouted with unanimous voice
 to assign her the great crown. Amid the applause
 Callicrates of Samos obtained the laurel
 and to the Sibling Gods as a visible sign of that [contest]
 he dedicated here a bronze [chariot and] driver.

Several of the epigrams in this section celebrate equestrian victories of Ptolemaic queens, and in turn Ptolemaic royal figures serve as one of the ordering strategies of these poems:³⁷ the early reference to the *Ptolemaia* at XII.14 is striking. The celebration of equestrian victories of Ptolemaic queens provides invaluable comparative material for Callimachus' *Victory of Berenice*, the poem with which he opens the third book of his *Aetia*: indeed the current wide-ranging interest in Hellenistic court poetry will benefit greatly from the appearance of these epigrams.

The six poems of the *nauagika* comprise one of the more poignant moments in the new epigrams, and remind the modern reader of the frequent reality of death at sea in antiquity. The earlier poems of Posidippus include one similar poem (*HE* XV). Through variation in speaking voice, and some quite effective uses of word placement to create the impression of swimming, these rather sim-

³⁷ See on this esp. M. Fantuzzi, "The Structure of the Hippika in P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309," in Acosta-Hughes/Baumbach/Kosmetatou 2003 (above, n. 5).

ple poems offer a short catalogue of loss and displacement.³⁸ Juxtaposed to these are the seven *iamatika*, which offer in turn a catalogue of ailments from which their victims have been freed. The god Asclepius is, perhaps not surprisingly, a prominent figure in these poems, and one scholar has suggested that this section may be meant to evoke an Asklepieion, and the votive offerings, prayers and activities (e.g. incubation) that would be found there.³⁹ This suggestion may lend valuable light to the interpretation of a number of epigram sections as poetic representations of physical spaces: thus the *andriantopoiika* and *hippika* effectively create statuary galleries, while the *anathematika* gives a synoptic view of the shrine of Arsinoe Zephyritis.

The *tropoi*, the enigmatically titled final section of the extant poems, are also funerary epigrams. Certainly the first two of these invert the usual conventions of funerary epigram: the passer-by is now chided for stopping and urged to move on (XV.24-27), now chided for lack of appropriate inquiry of the monument (XV.28-31). This sardonic play on generic expectations is quite intriguing, and in some ways finds striking parallels among the more satiric of the earlier Posidippus epigrams. The sixteenth column of the papyrus is broken: we can discern some words in the last of the *tropoi* that mark the poems as funerary, but whether the sardonic tone of the early poems of this section continued must remain unsure.

Although the value of this collection, and of the scholarly contribution of this edition and commentary, was clear from the beginning, the resonances of these poems will continue to be many, and to affect many scholarly areas. While the early discussions of these texts were conducted primarily by papyrologists and specialists in Hellenistic poetry, the importance of them for Latin literature is just beginning to be realized.⁴⁰ For social historians, historians of

³⁸ Instances of particularly effective word placement are XIV.9: γῆν ἐνθεν τε καὶ ἐνθεν ὁρώμενον, and the repeated use of the participle of νήχομαι in XIV.15-18.

³⁹ See P. Bing, "Posidippus' *Iamatika*," in Acosta-Hughes/Baumbach/Kosmetatou 2003 (above, n. 5).

⁴⁰ A pioneering work here is G. Hutchinson's article, "The New Posidippus and Latin Poetry," *ZPE* 138 (2002) 1-10.

religion, art historians, and experts in many other areas of antiquity, there is much new material here to be mined for years to come. The editors of this edition have done a magnificent job in bringing these new songs of Posidippus back to the world, and are to be heartily congratulated on the production of such a monumental work.

A year after the appearance of the *editio princeps*, LED published a small volume of all of the extant poetry of Posidippus (now gathered together for the first time). Edited by C. Austin and G. Bastianini, *Posidippi Pellaei Quae Supersunt Omnia* makes Posidippus' poetry easily (and economically) available to a wide audience. The edition includes a brief Latin *praefatio*, a helpful conspectus of the epigrams (and their numeration), other prefatory material, Greek text(s) with *en face* Italian and English translations, and indices of sources and Greek words. Below each Greek text the editors have given a brief apparatus, in most instances an abbreviated Latin commentary, and have helpfully provided the relevant page numbers (for the epigrams from *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309) of the commentary of the *editio princeps*. The order of poems in the edition has an interesting effect. The poems are ordered by material (so poems on papyrus, on wax tablet, and from anthologies in chronological order), and this has the result of placing the "new" poems first: thus the reader encounters "Old Posidippus" informed by the new poems. The question of attribution is thus effectively rendered inoperative.⁴¹ The intervening year and more since the publication of the *editio princeps* has allowed the editors to take advantage of the substantial scholarship on the text(s) that appeared immediately after the publication of the first edition: this is apparent both in the readings conjectured and in the commentary notes. This new edition of all of Posidippus will be counted among the texts, along with the Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli (BUR) Callimachus and Apollo-

⁴¹ There are other effects of this reading: some poems that occur together on the *OCT* page, e.g. the two epigrams on the shrine of Arsinoe-Aphrodite at Zephyrium, *GP* XII and XIII, have been renumbered in Austin-Bastianini as 116 and 119 and are thus no longer juxtaposed on the page—a juxtaposition that has itself always invited the reader to compare and contrast.

nus of Rhodes, that make the poetry of this period far more accessible to a wide audience of scholars and non-scholars alike.

With the publication of these two careful and thorough works, papyrologists and Hellenistic literary historians are in possession of fundamental tools that will serve them for many years to come as they seek to fathom more of the Milan Posidippus' secrets and to assess the consequences of its appearance for their areas of study. Indeed, the integration of the information contained in the roll into the framework of Greek and Latin literary and cultural studies, as well as into the study of ancient books and their use, has only just begun. We hope that the new surge of interest in epigram studies that we noted at the beginning of this review—an interest sparked in particular by the Posidippus roll—will inspire discoveries of new papyrological evidence for ancient epigram, as well as rapid publication of recently found epigram papyri. Finally, in view of the large amount of useful papyrological and bibliological information regarding the recto of *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309 which has been so fully and carefully presented, we look forward to the full publication, with similar thoroughness, of the remaining material from the Milan pectoral: the five documents, and most especially the literary or subliterary text on the verso of the roll.

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BOOK REVIEWS

CLÉDAT, JEAN, *Le Monastère et la nécropole de Baouit*. Edited by Dominique Bénazeth and Marie-Hélène Rutschowskaya, with contributions by Anne Boud'hors, René-Georges Coquin, Éliane Gaillard. Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale; 1999. MIFAO 111. 1 vol. iv + 477 pages, including 326 photos, figures, facsimiles in the text + 4 maps. ISBN 2-7247-0221-2. 350 FRF.

At the turn of the 20th century, Jean Clédat began to investigate the extensive site now generally referred to as the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit, just south of el-Ashmunein.¹ Founded in all probability towards the end of the 4th century, the monastery is known to have flourished well into the 9th century before falling into disuse at an indeterminate time a few centuries later. Although only a small percentage of the site has been excavated, it is famous for sculptures and paintings which have been the subject of numerous studies. For the papyrologist, however, the site seemed to have little to offer, aside from the abundant inscriptions and graffiti. The volume under review changes this situation by publishing, for the first time, 94 Coptic and Greek ostraca found by Clédat during his 1905 season (discussed in detail below).² Transcriptions of the ostraca were discovered in his excavation notebooks which were do-

¹ For a bibliography of material relating to the Bawit excavations, see M-H. Rutschowskaya, "Le Monastère de Baouit—état des publications," in C. Fluck *et al.* (eds), *Divitiae Aegypti. Koptologische und verwandte Studien zu Ehren von Martin Krause* (Wiesbaden 1995) 279-88. In addition, see also *P.Mon.Apollo*; J. Doresse, *Les anciens monastères de Moyenne-Égypte*. Neges Ebrix: Bulletin de l'Institut d'Archéologie Yverdonnoise 3-5 (2000); and S.J. Clackson, "Reconstructing the Archives of the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit," *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia I* (Florence 2001) 219-36.

² Two Coptic ostraca found at Bawit by Clédat were briefly described in *L'Égypte en Périgord: dans les pas de Jean Clédat*. Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte 7 (Paris and Louvain 1991) cat. nos. 114-15. They are now in the collections of the Musée du Périgord.

nated to the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the Louvre by his daughter, Mme Jean Mallet, in 1986. More than half have now been located in the collections of that museum, together with a group of rather fragmentary Louvre papyri (reproduced with a brief introduction on pp. 345-58), now also known to be from Bawit.³

The new volume is the fruit of the considerable labours of the editorial team, who have organized and reproduced the notes for Clédat's 1903, 1904, and 1905 seasons. Also published here for the first time is a large quantity of photographs from the excavation now in the École Pratique des Hautes Études, where plates and drawings from Clédat's excavations are also preserved. In many cases, they are the sole testimony for wall-paintings which crumbled almost as soon as they were cleared from the sand and exposed to the elements.

The current state of knowledge about the Bawit monastery is somewhat chaotic for a number of reasons, not least because such a small percentage of the site has been examined to date. Another contributing factor is the unsystematic way in which work was carried out there by a succession of people, none of whom left an adequate record of the areas they had investigated.⁴ Furthermore, there were problems and omissions in the excavation reports which were produced for the site. To this day, important finds remain unpublished, most notably the northernmost of the two fine churches found by Clédat in his first season (see below).

The papyrologist, Jean Maspero, became involved with the site in 1913 but was prevented from continuing, following the outbreak of the First World War. Killed in action in 1915 at Vauquois, aged 30, his death deprived papyrology of a first-rate scholar, and postponed the realization of any potential Bawit might have had as a source of written material. The extensive and impressive notes made by Maspero during the course of his brief acquaintance with

³ The Louvre papyri are to be published by me along with the papyri from Bawit belonging to the Ismailia Museum. Three Louvre papyri have already been published by Anne Boud'hors, "Papyrus de Clédat au Musée du Louvre," in Fluck *et al.*, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 29-35.

⁴ A discussion of the archaeology of the site and its associated excavation reports, can be found in Doresse, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 270-360, especially 274-81 for details of the different campaigns.

the site, together with plans and photographs, were posthumously published by Etienne Drioton between 1931 and 1943.⁵ Employing a different method of classification from that used by his predecessors at the site, Maspero preferred to call the structures he unearthed rooms ("salles") rather than "chapels", as Clédat usually labelled them. He also re-excavated some of the areas already dug by Clédat, resulting in duplicate references for a number of structures: for example, Clédat's description of the decoration and inscriptions in his funerary "Chapel" 57 suggest that this was the monastic building designated as "salle 18" by Maspero (p. 168, n. 92).

The book is divided into eleven chapters concerned with findings from various parts of the monastery, beginning with its entrance. One chapter presents the data collected during Clédat's 1904 campaign for the nineteen structures he designated "chapels 41-59". In most cases it is impossible to assign any specific function to any of these buildings. One exception is "chapel" 48 which has three separate accounts inscribed on the walls, one pertaining to amounts of wine, and another for clothing. Were these executed as a temporary *aide-mémoire* for the inhabitants, or could it be that accounting procedures of some sort were carried out at one time in this structure?

Also published are notes and photographs relating to Clédat's 1901-1903 campaigns which were omitted from the excavation reports. He identified three necropoleis ("désertique", "méridionale", and "sur la montagne") based on the evidence of tombs of varying types, mummified human remains (both male and female), and wooden grave markers. As for the churches he discovered, new photographs of the well-known south church are published together with images of the north church, which can now be seen to have rivalled its southerly counterpart in terms of elaborate decoration. Clédat did not intend to publish these photographs himself as the churches were to be dealt with by Emile Chassinat and Charles Palanque. All that was eventually published, however, was a vol-

⁵ J. Maspero, E. Drioton, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouït*. MIFAO 59.1-2 (Cairo 1931-43).

ume of plates containing photographs of the south church, without any explanatory notes or commentary.

The notebooks and photographs record hitherto unknown wall-paintings, inscriptions and graffiti (discussed in more detail below), as well as a range of sculpture, much of which has now been identified with objects in the collections of the Louvre and the Coptic Museum in Cairo. There is also some evidence of pottery, mainly amphorae and their stoppers—the important role wine played in the monastic economy at Bawit is attested in many of the ostraca from the site which are discussed in detail below. A separate chapter features inscriptions and graffiti unearthed by the *sebakhin*, including a couple of stelae, and other inscribed objects.

The inscriptions

The inscriptions which are published in this volume are mostly commemorative, written in Coptic, and survive only in Clédat's transcriptions. In a few cases there is also a photographic record of them, particularly of inscriptions which happen to be adjacent to the wall-paintings which were the main focus of the expedition. It is to be regretted that the editors did not assign individual numbers to the inscriptions, following the practice in Maspero's excavation report mentioned above, as this would have allowed for greater ease of reference by users. In some cases, additional bibliography is required for the commentaries provided for inscriptions. Sometimes this information is given in the index entry for a particular word, especially place names. In a few instances, index entries contain the correct or corrected form of words found in the inscriptions (for example, NHQEIH for NHQEIM on p. 68, no. 10.4).

The inscriptions commemorate numerous monks, including a few heads of the monastery, such as Abraham (p. 135); Hamoi (p. 112, and perhaps p. 121, no. 18); and possibly [P]apoh, son of Daniel (see corrigenda to the inscriptions below). The names of a number of women are also invoked, some of whom may have belonged to the monastic community of women at the site ("Chapel" 51, pp. 117-8, 120; "Chapel" 55, p. 152; "Chapel" 56, pp. 156-7). Some inscriptions attest to the use of Greek at the monastery as a liturgical medium:

"Chapel" 52, for example, contains a version of the Lord's Prayer in a cursive hand which is of phonological interest (p. 135).⁶

A new attestation, albeit fragmentary, of the letter of Jesus to Abgar, King of Edessa, is preserved in an inscription beneath a window in an interior courtyard ("Cour" 47, pp. 98–100, no. 4). According to Clédat's transcription, it was written in a book hand—unfortunately no photograph of it survives. A rock-cut chamber in what Clédat defined as the "nécropole sur la montagne", even though there is no compelling evidence for funerary function, contains inscriptions which suggest that it may have been used for teaching (pp. 190–1). Educational material from the monastery is otherwise scarce—it may perhaps be possible to see *O.Bawit* 93 (p. 308) as a product of some scribal exercise.

An inscription from the South Church records a date of 961 C.E./350 A.H. (p. 201, no. 10) which is put forward as the most recent recorded in the inscriptions from the monastery. René-Georges Coquin discounts as incorrectly copied an inscription published in 1906 which was dated to 422 A.H.⁷

Corrigenda to the inscriptions:

p. 9: interpret Pamoun's title as one involving ⲁⲓⲣ "garum?"

p. 18, bottom line: read ψωⲙⲁ "the body" (ⲡ-ⲥωⲙⲁ) rather than ψωⲗⲙⲁ, even though the ⲙ appears to have been copied in the same way as ⲗⲙ in ψⲗⲗⲙⲟⲥ in the line above.

p. 19, no. 16, ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲡⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲩⲁⲙ: read ⲩⲓⲟⲥ instead of ⲡⲓⲟⲥ, giving "Anoup son of Abraham."

p. 20 ϣ ⲗⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ: what was interpreted as a ϣ preceding the name Zacharias might also be a ϥ ("6") in Clédat's transcription.

ⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲩⲉ: although this word could be the personal name Tsoouhe, literally "the egg" (*P.Lond.Copt.* I 1075, p. 449, ⲡⲁⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲩⲉ), it seems more probable that Clédat miscopied ⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲩⲉ "the congregation" here (Crum, *Dict.* 373b s.v. ⲥωⲟⲩⲩⲉ).

p. 38, no. 1, final line: read ϥⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙωⲛ.

⁶ On comparable texts, see L.S.B. MacCoull, "Lese Früchte," *ZPE* 123 (1998) 205, no. 5, "Late Greek forms in Egyptian liturgical texts."

⁷ C. Palanque, "Rapport sur les recherches effectuées à Baouit en 1903," *BIFAO* 5 (1906) 7.

p. 44, no. 3.6-7: possibly interpret $\varphi\epsilon\sigma\varphi\omega$ as a form of $\varphi\epsilon\varphi\omega$ ($\varphi\beta\omega$) rather than $\varphi\sigma\beta\epsilon$ "market," with $\pi\mu\Delta$ $\eta\varphi\beta\omega$ being "the place of garments," rather than $\pi\mu\Delta$ $\eta\varphi\sigma\varphi\omega$, "lieu du marché?"

pp. 63-4, no. 2: in line 1 there is confusion between two standard epithets of Apollo, both of which occur in Bawit inscriptions.⁸ Plate 78 shows that the epithet $\varphi\iota\sigma\sigma$ $\mu\mu\eta$ $\eta\Delta\Gamma\Gamma\epsilon\lambda\sigma\sigma$ "the equal ($\iota\sigma\sigma$) to the angels" should be read, as given in the translation. The introduction to this text, however, gives $\varphi\iota\lambda\sigma\sigma$ $\mu\mu\eta\eta\Delta\Gamma\Gamma\epsilon\lambda\sigma\sigma$ "friend ($\varphi\iota\lambda\sigma\sigma$) of the angels." In Clédat's transcription $\varphi\iota\sigma\sigma$ has been changed to $\varphi\iota\lambda\sigma\sigma$.

line 7: contrary to n. 34, there is no reason why $\pi\Delta\pi\iota\tau\tau\Delta$ could not equally be interpreted "the man from Pitta," rather than as a maker or seller of pitch or resin ($\pi\iota\tau\tau\alpha$). Compare the place name "Pita(...)" (Timm 1945).

lines 7-8: $\pi\Delta\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\tau$ {M} $\pi\Delta\sigma\sigma$, rather than "celui de Terôt, accomplis (?)," take this to be a place name, $\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\tau$ $\mu\pi\Delta\sigma\sigma$ "Terôt mpjok." A number of places in the Hermopolite involve the element Terôt, see M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite: toponymes et sites*. Am.Stud.Pap. 21 (Ann Arbor 1979) 289-91. The word $\Delta\sigma\sigma$ could be interpreted as "hair," Crum, *Dict.* 761a.

p. 64, no. 3: rather than // signs ($\eta/\omega\Delta\lambda\lambda\omega$), the damaged text in inscription 3 would be better expressed by dots ($\cdot\eta\cdot\omega\Delta\lambda\lambda\omega$), or as square brackets if it was thought that the text were lost entirely ($[\cdot\eta\cdot]\omega\Delta\lambda\lambda\omega$). Elsewhere (e.g. p. 67 no. 9 line 1), square brackets are used where Clédat transcribed //.

p. 64, no. 4: Clédat transcribed $\Delta\iota\Delta\kappa^{\circ}$ / not $\Delta\iota\Delta\kappa$ /. Interpret $\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon\eta\eta\tau\epsilon\lambda\eta$ $\epsilon\beta\sigma\lambda$ $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ as "May God bring about my end well," comparing p. 65, no. 5.3-4, rather than "Que Dieu m'amène une fin, bonne."

p. 65, no. 6.4, $\varphi\mu$ $\pi\tau\sigma\omega$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\mu\Delta$ [] $\tau\pi\sigma\lambda\iota\sigma$ $\mu\pi\eta\sigma\sigma\sigma$: may be a misreading of $\varphi\mu$ $\pi\tau\sigma\omega$ $\eta\omega\mu\sigma\tau\eta\eta$ $\tau\pi\sigma\lambda\iota\sigma$ $\mu\pi\eta\sigma\sigma\sigma$ "in the region of Shmoun the city of the nome," for which see *P.Mon. Apollo*, pp. 14-15, §3.1.1. The place name Meshmême also occurs in an inscription on p. 63, no. 2.

p. 66, no. 8: reinterpret $\lambda\Delta$ $\pi\sigma\varphi\pi\sigma\sigma$ $\eta\pi\mu\Delta\kappa$ / $\Delta\Delta\eta\eta\lambda$ { Δ } $\pi\Delta\rho^{\chi}\mu\Delta\eta\Delta^{\chi}$ / ("... sauve-le (?), le défunt Daniel, archimandrite") as a misreading of $\pi\lambda\Delta\pi\sigma\varphi$ $\pi\omega\eta\eta$ $\eta\pi\mu\Delta\kappa$ / $\Delta\Delta\eta\eta\lambda$ { Δ } $\pi\Delta\rho^{\chi}\mu\Delta\eta\Delta^{\chi}$ /, "[P]apoh, son of Daniel, the archimandrite." If this emendation is correct, this inscription would be the first attestation of an archimandrite called Papohe, the name of one of Apollo's monastic companions mentioned in the *Life of Phib*. This personal name is rarely encountered outside Bawit, where it occurs in six other inscriptions (see index, p. 409).

p. 67, no. 9: restore $\mu[\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta]$ $\pi\Delta\eta\eta$, which occurs in the last line of this inscription.

p. 68, nos. 10 and 11: these two inscriptions are clearly related and contain a number of unsatisfactory forms which may have been incorrectly copied by Clédat. The interpretation of $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ / "famille de 20" should be viewed with caution.

⁸ For both epithets, see R-G. Coquin, "Apollon de Titkooh ou/et Apollon de Bawit?" *Orientalia* N.S. 46 (1977) 436-7, with n. 17.

In no. 10.9, it may be possible to restore a place name beginning Pemanha-: there are at least two possibilities, the most compelling being ΠΕΜΑΝΖΔ[ΒΙΝ] (Timm 1975-7), which is named in a Bawit inscription (Clédat, *op.cit.* [above, n. 6] 113, no. 49); alternatively, reconstruct ΠΕΜΑΝΖΔ[ΝΩΝΕ] (Timm 1977). The toponym ΠΡΕΜΕΝΩ in no. 10.7 also occurs in no. 11.7 (ΠΡΕΜΕΝΩΝ).

p. 90, no. 3.3: ΨΔΛ/ may also be interpreted as an abbreviation of ψαλμωδός, not only as ψάλτης, as implied in the index (p. 423). The title ψαλμωδός occurs in three papyri which may relate to the monastery (*P.Mon.Apollo* 7.x + 24-5; 8.1-2; 63.1).

p. 98, no. 21.4: Apa Phib is to be expected in the lacuna following Apa Apollo and Apa Anoup.

p. 105 (in green): read "Psoi[os]," or reinterpret Clédat's transcription as containing the personal name ΨΟΙϚ "Psois."

p. 117, no. 1: there should be no space in the word [ΕΛΔ]ΧΙΣΤΟϚ.

p. 119, no. 8: Clédat's transcription appears to record ἸΕΡΑΚΧΑΜΟΥ not ΖΕΡΑΚΧΑΜΟΥ.

p. 136, no. 3: rather than the awkward form ΕΡΕ ΕΡΟΕΙϚ, in which ΕΡΕ would be expected to precede ΔΠΑ ΔΠΟΧΛΩ, Clédat's transcription may record an optative ΕΕΡΕΟΕΙϚ Ε- (3rd future form, ΕΓΕΡΕΟΕΙϚ) "he will watch over."

p. 136, no. 4: rather than an unattested personal name "Nôneou-," an interpretation of ΝΩΝΕ "stones" seems likely, given that a builder is mentioned in the previous line.

p. 137: this inscription is not a list of toponyms, as suggested. Lines 3-4 should be reinterpreted as ΠΕΡΚΑ ΚΟΥΡΙϚ ΝΖΟΥΝΤΑΙ, comparing ΝΕΙΚΟΥΡΙϚ ΝΖΟΥΝΤΙ in the inscription on p. 143, no. 1. Both inscriptions feature Apa Sia of Thalahêse (Tkalahêse, see Crum, *Dict.* 107a s.v. ΚΑΛΛΑΖΗ), who is commemorated in two other Bawit inscriptions from "chapel" 17 (Clédat, *op.cit.* [above, n. 6] 83, no. 3; 84, no. 7). Could it be that Sia is to be identified with the martyr, Apa Dios, who met his death at Tkalahêtes (Timm 1072 *Halâhis*)? The meaning of ΝΕΙΚΟΥΡΙϚ ΝΖΟΥΝΤΙ is obscure: possibly ΚΟΥΡΙϚ is a form of κύριος "lord, master," or κουρεύς "barber." Hount(a)i may be an unattested place or personal name.

p. 140, inscription line 6: interpret Apa Anoup ΝϚΙΗΤ as being "of Scetis," occurring as ΩΙΗΤ elsewhere in this text.

p. 143: a couple of inscriptions which may have been imperfectly copied by Clédat were left uninterpreted. Suggested transcriptions are as follows:

p. 143, no. 2:

1	[Φ]αρμ ^Ϟ ια		Pharmouthi 11
2	Ο ±2 ΤΕΚ/ ΞΥΛΚΟΜΗϚ	Ϛ	... 6
3	ΟΜ ±4 ΟΝΤΕΝΡΑΤΒ	Δ	... 1

1 Φαρμ(ου)θ(ι) 3 όμοίως "likewise"?

p. 143, no. 3

1	† N. ἸΩΘΕ ΝΕΩΙ . . . ΕΝΤΑΝΕΝCOY . . . ΝΕ . . .	† The ...
2	ΓΙΝΔ/ΕΠΙΚΑΡΤΩ ±?	indiction 3 for this harvest ...
3	±2ΙΝΕ ΠΙΝΟC Ν±?	... the great ...
4	NO±?Δ/Δ±?	...

At the beginning of line 1, the letters transcribed by Clédât could be construed as ΝΕΙΩΘΕ "the fields" *vel sim.*; following this, it may be possible to reconstruct ΝΕΩΙΟΜΕ "<of> the women" and ΝΤΑΝΕΝCOY "which we brought" (for ΝΤΑΝΕΝ-TOY). Alternatively COY- may be the beginning of the word for "wheat" (COYO).

p. 150: interpret ΠΑΟΚΟC ΝΑΤΑΝΑCΙ as "the account of Atanasi (Athanasius)" rather than "compte perpetuel."

p. 151: read "Papa" rather than "Apa" Ptolemy. A Papa Ptolemy occurs in the Bawit papyrus, P. Louvre E 27616 side (A), reproduced on p. 349, plate 310, middle image; published by Boud'hors, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 33-4.

p. 158, line 2: in the inscription from the south wall, ΠΙΩ[Τ] ΝΝ[. . .] is not "father of Ne-..." but more likely "father of the [...]."

p. 185, n. 102: the two stelae in question should be cross-referenced to pp. 234-5, and p. 239, nos. 235-6.

p. 188, no. 6: ΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΔΙ, "of this very year", can be read in the plate (photo 170).

p. 198, no. 3: as the initial P is uncertain in ΠΙΜΜΗΤΡΕ, it may be that this name should actually be read ΔΙΜΜΗΤΡΕ, a form of Demetrius recorded by Heuser, 90.

p. 199, no. 5; p. 201, no. 10: interpret Menas, the deacon, as the son of Isaac, the deacon, in both inscriptions.

p. 230, lower inscription: after the curious name Mizan, it may be possible to read ΤΑΝΙΗΛ (Daniel).

p. 231, no. 4.4-5: rather than the unsatisfactory ΝΔΙΝ<Ν>ΔΙ []Δ ΟΥΝΔ {Ο} "par miséricorde; [] pitié," read the common formula ΜΠΕΦΗΙ ΤΗΡΦ ΝΔΙΝ ΟΥΚ[ΟΥΙ] ΩΔ ΟΥ-ΝΔC "of his whole house from a small to a great," comparing *BKU* III 411.2.

p. 234: plate 235 supports a reading of the standard formula ΔΡΙ ΠΦΜΕΕΥΕ "Remember him", rather than ΝΤΦΜΕΕΥΕ "qu'il s'en souviennne." I will discuss the rare title ΠΙΩΤ ΜΠΚΗΜΙΤΡΝ "father of the cemetery (κοιμητήριον)" in a forthcoming publication of Bawit inscriptions.

The ostraca (*O.Bawit*)

Clédât's notebook for the 1905 season included transcriptions of 94 pottery ostraca inscribed with mainly Coptic, but also some Greek, text. They are published here for the first time, the result of a team effort involving several people, headed by Anne Boud'hors.

The publication of these texts is important not only because they constitute the first significant body of documentation to be made available from the Bawit monastery, but also for the links which can now be established between them and a large quantity of unprovenanced material in collections around the world. None of the ostraca bears an absolute date, nor is any attempt made to assign a date to each text by the editors. They are drawn up in a mixture of different hands—mostly a large, informal but competent majuscule—which suggest that they belong to the 7th or 8th century. The ostraca make a significant contribution to our knowledge of the Hermopolite region, preserving a number of newly attested or rare place names.

The discovery of the transcriptions in December 1990 led to the identification of 57 ostraca in the collections of the Louvre, where they had been deposited in a number of different locations, some amongst the Greek ostraca. None bore any indication of their place of origin. Consultation of the originals, each here reproduced in a black and white plate, has shown up inevitable deficiencies in the transcriptions made by the excavator who was no doubt working in constrained circumstances. The whereabouts of the other 37 ostraca remains a mystery. It is suggested on p. 246 that they may be identified with box of ostraca mentioned in the inventory of the Egyptian Museum in the Cairo.⁹

Most of the ostraca are concerned with the distribution of commodities, and many are drawn up in a distinctive, standardized format, no doubt to make them instantly recognizable to those who needed to refer to them. They begin with the words $\omega\iota\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\kappa\lambda-$, a formula preserved in a number of ostraca with no recorded provenance,¹⁰ links with many of which can now be securely established. Translated as "faire rentrer," it is probably best rendered "fetch" in English, although previous editors have favoured variants along the lines of "ask for, demand." A quantity of merchandise (often with

⁹ I am grateful to Anne Boud'hors for confirmation that they cannot be identified with the ostraca from Bawit which were found in the collections of the IFAO in Cairo, after the publication of the book under review.

¹⁰ Some are listed on p. 247; see now also Clackson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 228-9.

details of its place of origin) is then stipulated, followed by the name of the delivery-man (*O.Bawit* 7 alone lists two). The texts end with a date, sometimes followed by a delivery number. A Greek summary of the document is given in two ostraca.

Many different theories have developed over the years to explain the function of ostraca beginning with the *shine nsa*-formula. A member of the team who produced *O.Bawit*, Seïna Bacot, believes that they were issued by the *oeconomus*, acting on the orders of the head of the monastery. She envisages the role they fulfilled within the monastery's distribution system as follows: the delivery-man would take the ostracon to the place which supplied the produce, together with empty containers. These he would then fill with the required amount and take them back to the monastery, together with the ostracon.¹¹ John Tait adopts a different interpretation, suggesting that the ostraca functioned as memoranda in a far more localized operation, relating to deliveries which were expected but not yet received. He conjectures that the consignments with which the *shine nsa*-formula ostraca were concerned might have been special in some way, and so were drawn up in a unique format which allowed them to stand out from other ostraca. He speculates that the delivery-men bearing the ostraca did not necessarily travel far, possibly only to the wharf nearest to the monastery's storehouse, querying whether the monastery would necessarily have needed to send delivery-men to the place of origin of the produce in question.¹² Tait's interpretation is the more attractive, given the internal nature of the texts, and the material on which they were written—pottery which could not be expected to survive an extended journey. The hypothesis that the text on the ostraca was written in two parts at different times, although advanced by Tait, is not wholly supported by him, and it is positively refuted by Bacot.¹³

¹¹ S. Bacot, "La circulation du vin dans les monastères d'Égypte à l'époque copte," in N. Grimal, B. Menu, *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*. IFAO BdE 121 (Cairo 1998) 278–80.

¹² W.J. Tait, "A Coptic 'Enquiry' about a Delivery of Wheat," in C. Eyre, A. Leahy, L. M. Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore* (London 1994) 337–42.

¹³ Tait, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 339; Bacot, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 279.

The ostraca appear to have been deposited together in some kind of archive at the monastery, where Clédât uncovered them—unfortunately he did not record the exact find-spot, but they can be associated with objects from the eastern part of the kom (mistakenly recorded, it seems, as "ouest" in his notebook). The ostraca are now arranged into several groups, the first of which is concerned with deliveries of wine, a commodity which appears to have been a crucial component in the economic life of the monastery. These ostraca have already been the focus of a study produced by Bacot (above, n. 11) on the distribution of wine by monasteries. *O.Bawit* 1-34 relate to wine deliveries for indiction 2; *O.Bawit* 35-41 for indiction 12. Most were drawn up in the month of Thoth, the harvest period. *O.Bawit* 42-4, 46-7 focus on wine deliveries with a connection to a place called Tnout—these also appear to have been drafted in Thoth. (See corrigenda below for *O.Bawit* 48.) *O.Bawit* 49-54 are also concerned with wine deliveries of various kinds.

The containers and measures employed in the ostraca are of interest and would have merited discussion in an analytical section comparable to that of Harold Idris Bell in *P.Sarga*, pp. 19-26. Artabas and sacks are used for dry goods. Wine and other commodities are delivered in a wide range of vessels: the *knidion*, *kollathon*, *lakon*, *lakoote*, *lahê*, and *metron*, together with the less common *koeis*, *orgon*, *sousiou*, the *shesh* of Tiloj, and the ΜΑΚΑΡΙC, which is tentatively equated with the *megarikon*.

O.Bawit 55-62 are deliveries for *taricheion* dating to between Phamenoth 18-23, indiction 15. The term *taricheion* is interpreted in vague terms as condiments pickled in brine, but I would prefer to see it as pickled fish in the Bawit ostraca, since it also occurs in related ostraca *CPR* XX.¹⁴ It is worth pointing out that some of the delivery-men in these texts occur in unprovenanced *shine nsa*-formula ostraca: Eraklite (Heraclitus) from *O.Bawit* 61 (see corrigenda below) can be found in *CPR* XX 11; Shinoute of Maiouma from *O.Bawit* 55, in *CPR* XX 8. The newly-attested place name Tancashou (ΤΑΝCΑCΟΥ) in *O.Bawit* 56.3 also occurs in an unpublished Coptic papyrus, P.Mich. inv. 4565.

¹⁴ S.J. Clackson, "Fish and Chits: the *Synodontis schall*," *ZÄS* 129 (2002) 6, 10-11.

The *taricheion* documents differ from the other *shine nsa*-formula ostraca in that they do not specify a delivery number—perhaps fewer deliveries were necessary, since smaller quantities of this product were involved? Nor is there any indication of the place of origin of the merchandise (possibly suggesting local production?). All of the named suppliers are from identifiable places in the Hermopolite. A curious feature of the *taricheion*-delivery documents is that they specify a weekday, as does *O.CrumVC* 111, which must, as the editors claim, be related to the Bawit ostraca (together with *O.CrumVC* 110). Was it necessary to specify a particular day in these documents because of the perishable nature of *taricheion* in transport conditions?

Bacot has posited that a number of the delivery-men featuring in the ostraca may have been monks,¹⁵ as was the case at Wadi Sarga (see, for example, *P.Sarga* 373). That some of them were literate is perhaps indicated by *O.Bawit* 59, which contains additional instructions not to quarrel about the broken *lakon*-vessel, presumably broken during a previous delivery of *taricheion*.

O.Bawit 63-8 do not form as homogeneous a grouping as the ostraca which precede them, being concerned with deliveries of sacks of various commodities, including wheat (by delivery-men with the title *pistikos* in *O.Bawit* 63-4), greens and onions. As the editors point out, those concerned with wheat can be related to unprovenanced ostraca now in Heidelberg (in the Institute for Egyptology), *SB Kopt.* 226-34. *O.Bawit* 69-70 are unidentified *shine nsa*-formula texts.

O.Bawit 71-80 are accounts and lists, many of them concerned with wine and relating to the *shine nsa*-formula documents. For example, *O.Bawit* 73 looks like a control list detailing a number of deliveries and their respective suppliers. *O.Bawit* 74 is presumably concerned with wine from the *Topos* of Nohe (Noah), which should undoubtedly be equated with the source of wine designated as the ΜΔ ΝΝΩΞΕ in *O.Bawit* 26. *O.Bawit* 81-2 are letters, one with a formula which I would identify as characteristic of the Bawit monastery, beginning with the words ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΕΖΑΙ "It is our father who writes" (*P.Mon.Apollo*, p. 16, §3.2.1). The final eleven ostraca are a

¹⁵ Bacot, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 277.

varied bunch, mostly concerned with economic matters. *O.Bawit* 83 features the name ΠΚΑΜΒΗΧΗC Cambyses (see corrigenda below). The verso of *O.Bawit* 93 has a faded drawing of a bird—as mentioned above, it may be that this potsherd was used for some kind of scribal exercise.

Corrigenda to *O.Bawit*

O.Bawit 35, 36, 38, 41: judging from the evidence of *O.Bawit* 36, reproduced in plate 276, it seems indisputable that the element at the beginning of these four ostraca should be interpreted as β φ(ορά), "delivery 2," as the editors themselves suggest on p. 269. (This part of *O.Bawit* 35 is illegible in plate 275; the whereabouts of the other two ostraca is unknown.)

O.Bawit 43.2: read Δ/ ΗCΔΕΙΔC "through Esaeias," rather than ... ΕΙΔ/; the same spelling of Esaias is recorded in a Bawit inscription by Clédat (*op.cit.* [above, n. 6] 55, line 5), although his facsimile (reproduced there in plate 31) shows a reading of ΗCΔΗΔC.

O.Bawit 44.2: the use of ομο/ here would indeed be strange, as the editors themselves admit, and the interpretation offered in the commentary of ΚΑΜ/, "camel-driver," makes better sense. As this ostrakon has yet to be traced, Clédat's transcription should be viewed with caution.

O.Bawit 45.5: read ΤΕCCEP/, not ΤΕCCAP/.

O.Bawit 48: read the first word after the cross as ΤΕCΧΩΤ, and interpret as a form of Dashlut (ΤΕCΧΩΤ), a village in the immediate vicinity of Bawit, see S. Richter, "Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden neu bearbeitet (II): die Rechtsurkunden des Teschlot-Archivs," *JJP* 30 (2000) 104, note c.

O.Bawit 52.1: interpret the abbreviation Μ/ as μόνα "only," not as μέτρα or μεγάλα. Rather than reading]ΓΟΝ for the end of the wine measure λΔΓΟΝ or ΟΡ-ΓΟΝ, re-read and reconstruct [ΕΚΔ]ΤΟΝ "hundred," giving the figure of one hundred and twenty six.

O.Bawit 54.1: Clédat's transcription of this ostrakon suggests that the first word of this text be read Psôî. A place of this name has been equated with Ibšây, Greek Ptolemais (Timm 1140). Compare the use of a place name at the beginning of other texts: Tnout (*O.Bawit* 42-7), and possibly Tes(h)lot (see corrigendum to *O.Bawit* 48 above). Also in *O.Bawit* 54, a superlinear stroke or dot is needed over the Ν in ΝCΔ in line 1, and, in line 2, a diaeresis on Ι in ΞΙΤΝ (also to be added to *O.Bawit* 56.2).

O.Bawit 61.3-4: reconstruct ΗΡΑΚΧΙ[ΤΕ], Eraklite (Heraclitus), possibly followed by ΠΔCΕΝΕCΧΔ "the one of Senesla," and identify with the delivery-man, Eraklite of Senesla, who delivers *taricheion* in the unprovenanced *shine nsa*-formula text, *CPR* XX 11.

O.Bawit 63.7: Clédat's squiggle following the day of the month is surely to be interpreted as an abbreviation for indiction such as ΙΝ^Δ, as the editors suggest.

O.Bawit 63.8: the original potsherd has yet to be traced. Judging from Clédât's transcription, the name † ΓΕΩΡΓΕ was written before φορ/, even though a numeral is expected in this position.

O.Bawit 71.2: read ΠΑΝΕΧΗΡΟΥ rather than ΠΑΝΕΧΗΡΟΣ (the γ is formed in the same way in ΠΙΗΟΥ, line 3).

O.Bawit 71.4: ΠΟΔΟCΙΑ is probably to be interpreted as ποτόc as the editors suggest, followed by a numeral. The same word should probably also be read in line 5 (ΠΟΔΟ[C]). For ποτόc, see *P.RainerCent.* I 71, note to line 11. Less likely, but also possible, is that ποδοc/ is a form of ἀποδίδωμι or of ἀπόδοcιc "payment," compare αποδοc/ in *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1075 (p. 447).

O.Bawit 72.4: in this wine account, interpret ρωε as a form of ρωγ "himself, for his part" (Crum, *Dict.* 651b s.v. ρωω=), functioning here like ὁμοίωc "like-wise," and translate "Iôhanes for his part?"

O.Bawit 74.7: as Clédât often interpreted an ερ ligature as φ (see p. 65, n. 37), instead of φεοί[...], read ερε οί[...], "with [...] of wine [...]" ; for a similar usage of ερε-, see *O.Bawit* 63.3, 64.3, 66.2.

O.Bawit 75.3: restore [ΠΜΔΝΘΔΜ]ΟΥΛ "camel-driver" here, as in lines 5, 8.

O.Bawit 81: this text appears to deal with quantities of wool (COPT) which have been assigned to different places (Pma n-Ranê, Pma n-Louga, Pma n-Allou). It is to be re-edited by me in a forthcoming edition of texts beginning with the formula "It is our father who writes" (for which, see above).

O.Bawit 82.6: reconstruct [CYN]ΕΘΕΙΑ, as found in *O.Bawit* 87.3 (CENΘΕΙΑ).

O.Bawit 83: possibly interpret ΤΙΧΟC in line 2 as a variant form of the tax, CTΙΧΟC, which is mentioned in a couple of the Bawit papyri in the Louvre (E 27587, E 27649). For CT > T in Coptic documents, compare forms of cτοιχέω such as ΤΙΧΕ (*CPR* IV 137.4), and ΤΙΧΙΝ (*CPR* IV 206.5).

O.Bawit 93: the editors' suggestion that ΚΟΛΕΘΕ be read rather than ΚΟΤΕΘΕ, is surely correct. Not all of the references cited pertain to the same Kolthe, however.

The book concludes with a study by Clédât of the development of "Coptic art" and the dating of the paintings; an extensive bibliography; and indexes to the photographic and philological material. The indexes relate not only to philological material contained in the volume but also to that found in unindexed excavation reports and other Bawit-related publications (everything except for Maspero and Drioton, *op.cit.* [above, n. 5]). Although potentially an extremely useful tool, the quality of these indexes is severely compromised by numerous defects. Chief of these is the sheer unreliability of index entries pertaining to the material in this book, caused, no doubt, by its repagination after the compilation of the

indexes. Many page references are wrong, often a few pages out of sync, but not consistently so, which means that no simple recalibration can be used to correct them. Compounded with this unsatisfactory state of affairs is the awkward method of cross-referencing in the new volume. Following the style of earlier reports, index entries refer to the page and line on which the item in question occurs. Such a system is particularly ill-suited to referencing ostraca and inscriptions, especially when, as is the case here, the page numbers given are often wrong! Consequently, attempting to locate entries as indexed can often be a time-consuming and frustrating experience.

As stated earlier, it would have been preferable if individual numbers had been assigned to the inscriptions, as done by Maspero and Drioton, *op.cit.* (above n. 5). That volume also features other desiderata for the book under review: an "index archéologique" to the material it contains, and an index of personal names which lists for each individual any known details of filiation, place of origin, and any epithets, occupational titles, etc. Historical figures, such as Apollo, are thereby easily distinguishable from others of the same name, which is not the case in the personal names index of the book being reviewed here. This index also suffers from having a hellenocentric bias, whereby Egyptian Coptic names are indexed under their hellenized equivalents. In the case of the name ΠΕΣΩΩ, for example, the index heading given, Πεκῶς, does not feature in any of the references provided! Given the context of the volume, another useful addition would have been an index for religious terms. At present, monasteries are indexed simply as Toponyms, making their identification rather difficult for the non-specialist who may find it hard to find the Monastery of Apa Jeremias, for example, when it is indexed as ΠΙΜΑΝΔΠΔΙΕΡΗΜΙΔΑC (p. 418). This example also highlights how the provision of French equivalents for all Coptic and Greek terms would have been desirable.

The book ends with a revised plan of the site, showing the location of all structures found to date. It should be pointed out that the

wrong orientation was assigned to the plans in some of Clédat's publications.¹⁶

The length of this review bears witness to the complexity and richness of the material in this publication, which marks an important advance for the study of the monastic site known as Bawit. The skill and style with which Clédat's archive has been interpreted, supplemented, and corrected deserves high praise. As for his transcriptions of inscriptions and ostraca, the editors responsible for handling this difficult material are to be congratulated for successfully making sense of much which was obscure. It is to be hoped that excavation can be resumed at Bawit in due course so that this important site can receive the scientific attention it deserves.

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¹⁶ J. Clédat, *Le Monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*. MIFAO 12.1–2 (Cairo 1904–6) pl. 1; "Baouît," *DACL* 2.1 (Paris 1910) 211–12.

PAPACONSTANTINO, ARIETTA. *Le culte des saints en Égyptes des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des sources papyrologiques et épigraphiques grecques et coptes*. Paris: CNRS; 2001. xxiv + 474 pages, 2 maps. ISBN: 2-271-05849-X. \$55.18; € 64.03.

Arietta Papaconstantinou has performed an incalculable service to the study of Christianity in Egypt with this monograph. *Le culte des saints* analyzes all the papyrological and epigraphical references to cults of Christian saints in pre- and early Muslim Egypt and offers important insights into the rise of saints' shrines, the popularity of various saints, and the ritual life of saint-devotion from the fifth through the eighth centuries C.E.

Beginning its life as a 1993 dissertation for the University of Strasbourg, *Le culte des saints* has a compendious character, with exhaustive annotated inventories of known saints and cult sites, bibliographies for each saint and shrine, and lists of papyri and inscriptions in a series of appendices. (The volume, unfortunately, lacks an index). The book revolves around the Inventory of documented saints (pp. 41-225), organized alphabetically and providing sources, the saints' chief titles, and cult sites. P. then provides a Commentary on the nature of the saints represented (ch. 1), the geography of sanctuaries (ch. 2), and the ritual forms that integrated saints into the religious lives of Egyptian Christians (ch. 3).

An Introduction provides a brief review of past work on the Egyptian/Coptic cult of saints. Previous studies—Delehay, O'Leary, Baumeister, *et al.*—focused on hagiography and especially martyrologies, a notoriously fantastic genre that seems to have preoccupied Coptic scribes. Of these literary materials scholars would typically ask literary questions (sources, compositional techniques), religious questions (identifying pagan survivals), and such pseudo-historical questions as which saints might have been authentic victims of persecution. But few scholars attempted to bring hagiographical materials together with the increasingly abundant papyri and inscriptions bearing on saint-devotion, with the result that any grounding in history or society was quite limited. As the study of the cult of saints has emerged from the provenance of theology

and patristics, there is an increasing need to reconstruct the meaning of saints in ancient local culture. P. offers just such a reconstruction, covering a spectrum of materials, from papyri (receipts, letters, liturgical and magical texts, monastic archives), to funerary inscriptions, to the terracotta lamps and *ampulae* sold at shrines, as well as to the more tendentious, late evidence of hagiographies and chronicles. The historical span—fifth through eighth centuries C.E.—reflects the period between the appearance and the rapid decline of documentation for Christian saint-cults in Egypt.

P.'s Inventory of saints is far more useful than the earlier, hagiography-based catalogue that De Lacy O'Leary provided in *The Saints of Egypt* (London/New York 1937), although she chose not to include saints attested only in hagiography (a slight inconvenience for future researchers that will keep O'Leary essential). Among the one hundred and sixty-seven saints that P. does discuss, one might note particularly informative entries on Ss. George (imported from Palestine), Thecla (the legendary companion of Paul the apostle), the obscure Apa Victor (or Victors), John the Baptist (relics imported from Alexandria in the fifth century), Colluthos (patron of a thriving ticket-oracle), Cyrus and John (patrons of a healing shrine near Alexandria), Mark (legendary gospel author and evangelist to Egypt), and Menas (patron of an internationally renowned healing shrine in the western desert). There are also less well-known Egyptian saints with—in many cases—no extant hagiographical tradition at all, yet considerable regional importance: Phoibammon, Euphemia, Enoch, Zacharias.

As P. notes in the first chapter of her Commentary, such native Egyptian saints make up the vast majority of saints venerated in the landscape (with biblical heroes being the least frequent). Furthermore, saints tended to be martyrs (whether or not they had ever existed as such), rather than monks or bishops; women and children make up a distinct minority of saints; soldier and doctor-saints (like Menas, George, and John and Cyrus) are common; and some saints are clustered in pairs or groups. There was a limited assortment of titles associated with saints in papyri and inscriptions—ἄγιος and ἀπλ, μάρτυς, ἀπόστολος, μέγας, etc. Some saints peaked early (e.g., Euphemia, Sarapion), some late (Apollo), and some maintained dominance throughout Coptic history (Mark, Pa-

termouthios, *et al.*); some were restricted to one region and others spread to several, usually contiguous regions.

A more thematic section discusses the principles by which one can assess a saint's relative importance: not by the sheer quantity of references (which would by necessity be due to the caprices of archaeological survival) but by the concentration of specific kinds of materials. References to actual sanctuaries and festivals, objects like lamps or pilgrims' *ampulae* and ritual remains like oracle "tickets" and epitaphs can all demonstrate the vitality of a saint's cult and its geographic distribution. Finally, she notes, whereas a hagiography will naturally promote a particular saint regardless of his actual prominence in the region, the documentary record offers a fairly reliable gauge to saint's actual historical importance. For example, S. Shenoufe, the subject of a protracted and gory martyrology in the Pierpont Morgan Library, is altogether unattested in papyri and inscriptions; and Ss. John and Cyrus, "doctors" of the Menouthis healing shrine outside of Alexandria and subjects of an extensive miracle cycle, were apparently unknown beyond the suburbs of the Delta.

The second part of the Commentary covers cult locations. Given the paucity of archaeological data on early Coptic saint shrines, we must depend on documentary (and, to a lesser extent, hagiographical) evidence to "visualize" their nature and layout. P. discusses the terminology used to refer to holy places: generic terms like *τοπος* and *Μα* that embraced everything from martyria to monasteries, and more specific terms—*ἐκκλησία*, *εὐκτήριον*, *μαρτύριον*, *οἶκος*—that reflected differing religious functions. She then offers a geography of known shrines, organized by city, that improves considerably on Pierre Maraval's recent survey of Coptic pilgrimage sites (*Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient* [Paris 1985] 311-27).

P's main observations about the distribution of the saint shrines concern their clustering. Cities like Hermopolis tended to have multiple sanctuaries, while the *chora* "ne fait que reproduire à grande échelle la configuration topographique de la cité, renforçant ainsi une identité locale déjà marquée." (307) Hagiographies, she notes, rarely admit to such a multiplicity of shrines, since their purpose is to promote individual sites. And yet the competition—even religious fragmentation—that we would expect to occur

with multiple saint shrines, each promoted through hagiographical readings, seems to have been offset through liturgy. P. finds evidence that church officials would lead stational liturgies and processions that, in the presence of large crowds, had the effect of integrating all the sanctuaries in a particular city or region. Here was "une sort de gestion rituelle du territoire diocésain tout entier, et non seulement de l'espace urbain et suburbain. Du même coup, la simple topographie des sanctuaires se double d'une géographie cultuelle qui, spécifique à chaque diocèse, relie en un réseau ordonné la constellation des lieux de culte dédiés aux saints." (310)

Following the Mediterranean-wide pattern discussed in Peter Brown's *Cult of the Saints* (Chicago 1981), Egypt's saint-shrines become firmly ensconced in the midst of villages by the sixth century. However, by the end of the seventh century P. notices "une tendance du culte à se concentrer autour des monastères, soit parce que les fondateurs de ceux-ci commencent à être vénérés à l'égal des martyrs ou de saints bibliques, soit parce que les reliques des martyrs y ont été transportées, sans doute en raison de l'insécurité croissante des sanctuaires de campagne." (308)

The third part of the Commentary, "Les Formes du Culte," covers the ritual life of the saint shrines—how devotees interacted with the saint and his or her "place." Festivals involved the donation, production, and shared consumption of special foods and drinks; patronage by elite benefactors; and liturgical acts like stational processions and the public readings of hagiographies. People practiced a great variety of private invocations and requests to saints: funerary epitaphs, graffiti, amulets and prayers, the swearing of oaths, the exchange of oracle tickets, and the purchase of stamped *ampulae* and lamps. The most remarkable of these rituals of mediation were the ticket-oracles, attested at Oxyrhynchus (S. Philoxenus), Antinoe (S. Colluthus), and elsewhere (S. Leontius *et al.*), in which supplicants would present written questions to the shrine in the form of two alternative answers. The saint's chosen answer would be returned to the petitioner, often to be carried itself as an amulet. The procedure is attested at Egyptian temples as far back as the new Kingdom (see my *Religion in Roman Egypt* [Princeton 1998] ch. 4).

Other materials reflect the generous donation of labor, money, objects, and sometime even children to the saints (inevitably in the hope of some blessing), and the widespread tradition of naming children after saints. This last practice was done quite self-consciously: families tended to choose local saints out of a combined desire to credit their beneficent powers and to maintain an inter-generational link to the holy patron.

Across this great array of ritual acts P. discerns three patterns: those that involve leaving something at the shrine, those that involve taking something from the shrine or invoking the saint apart from the shrine, and those that draw saints into domestic contracts, like oaths—altogether demonstrating the creativity and self-determination of popular piety in Coptic Christianity. Here was a Christianity that involved the full lives of ordinary devotees and thus flourished independently of the ecclesiastical institution, not unlike the picture William Christian has drawn in *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton 1981). People appealed to saints intimately connected with them, not to the distant heroes of scripture, as we find in the graffiti and *proskynemata* inscribed on walls of monasteries. People visited shrines and appealed to their supernatural patrons regardless of institutional affiliation, as we learn from documents of the most popular oracle cults, suggesting the presence of non-Christian clients—the "shared shrine" phenomenon increasingly recognized in the late antique world. And the language of churches and sermons was thoroughly multivalent in its efficacy, as we see in the numerous amulets that invoke saints and draw on ecclesiastical terminology. The amulets show both the impossibility of the old "prayer"/"spell" distinction and the likelihood that their crafters were clerics and monks more than some ephemeral class of "wizards." Indeed, P. infers from the consistent formulation of appeals to saints—invariably to "God of St. X ..." rather than to "St. X" alone—and the absence of regional variation, that orthodox tendencies influenced the cult of saints in its most personal dimensions.

The Conclusion offers some general observations on the nature of popular saints and their historical rise to prominence. While the "typical" saint was a male Egyptian martyr, the total pantheon of saints (at least those invoked) exceeded one hundred and fifty; and their cults occupied all Egypt and every level of society. Histori-

cally, the documentary materials show the rise of public cults of saints as phenomena only of the fifth and sixth centuries, *despite* a rich literature of martyrdom and martyr-veneration —especially in Egypt—from before Eusebius. Thus it is difficult even to claim a "continuity" in saint-devotion from the time of the Persecutions. Rather, P. observes, "le culte des saints progressa au même rythme, que la christianisation du pays: présent essentiellement dans les textes littéraires au IV^e siècle, il gagna peu à peu la société au cours de V^e pour triompher enfin au début du siècle suivant." (370) Much as Christianization occurred through the establishment of local cults in the Americas (see, e.g. Michael J. Sallnow, *Pilgrims of the Andes* [Washington D.C. 1987]), P.'s observation that the two dynamics ran parallel in Byzantine Egypt suggests some relationship between saint-cults, with their local and practical scope of meaning, and Christianization, which was generally a social, community-based (rather than individual, "salvation"-based) phenomenon. Christianization, like saint-cults, occurred haphazardly through the land over the fifth century according to regional preferences and situations (following Ewa Wipszycka, *Aegyptus* 68 [1988] 117-65 in her sensible response to Roger Bagnall, who argued for fourth-century Christianization on "statistical" grounds in *BASP* 19 [1982] 105-24 and *ZPE* 69 [1987] 243-50).

With its acute sensitivity to the practical, local aspects of religion, to the meaning of ritual, and to the nuances of religion's documentary remains, *Le culte des saints* represents one of the most important contributions to the study of Egyptian Christianity in many decades. If P. has bracketed theological/ideological context and questions of pre-Christian religious continuities for the purposes of her monograph, these topics have been well-covered by, e.g., David Brakke and Theofried Baumeister. But one area does deserve further thinking, now that P. has located the rise of the cult of saints only in the later fifth century: what *should* we make of references to martyr-veneration ritual in the fourth and early fifth centuries, such as appear in Athanasius (see Brakke, *Studia Patristica* 32 [1997] 12-18), Shenoute of Atripe (see Lefort, *Nouvelle Clio* 6 [1954] 225-30), and even the third-century *Apocalypse of Elijah* (see Frankfurter, *Vigiliae Christianae* 48 [1994] 25-47)? The first two represent condemnations of what were obviously spontaneous local

expressions of martyr-devotion—Shenoute's at the very period when the rise of official martyr cults was triggering "inventions" all over the place, as P. notes (370-1). The third represents an autochthonous Egyptian construction of the martyr as local supernatural benefactor at the same time as persecutions were occurring. What manner of "cult" do these sentiments and practices represent, and how intrinsic were they to Egyptian Christians' sense of sainthood, history, and supernatural power already in the fourth century? If P. herself was unable to speculate further into the formation of ritual attitudes and the "spatialization" of martyr-cults before the fifth century, it is to be hoped that future studies engage this dimension with as much attention to practical, local dynamics as P. has modeled in this book.

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ANDORLINI, ISABELLA et al. (eds.), *Atti del XXII Congresso internazionale di papirologia. Firenze, 23-29 agosto 1998*. 2 vols + vol. of plates. Firenze: Istituto papirologico "G. Vitelli"; 2001. xxiv + 1349 pages + 46 plates. ISBN 88-87829-21-7.

The Florence Congress was no doubt one of the best attended (243 scholars are named in the "Elenco dei partecipanti," vol. I, pp. xvii-xxiii), most popular in terms of papers given (I count 157 based on the "programma del Congresso," reprinted in vol. I, pp. vii-xvi), and most productive in terms of papers published: 135 discounting a few papers that appear only in abstract form. The contributions are ordered alphabetically by author, an arrangement that has been followed in other Congress proceedings, including those for the 1995 Congress in Berlin. This is editorially convenient but, as the editors themselves realize, breaks up papers that naturally belong together. To compensate, the Congress program is reprinted so that readers can identify and read the papers in their appropriate thematic groupings. The table of contents will be found at the end of vol. II (pp. 1353-62). Most articles seem fairly closely to reflect their oral presentations; some have obviously been expanded; some contributions are more or less (intentionally) ephemeral, others lasting in value: only time and a citation index will tell. All things considered, although the sample is hardly scientific, there is no better way to learn about what is going on in the field of papyrology today than by poring through the Florence *Atti*, after reading Jean Bingen's "Épilogue . . ." (II 1345-9) where the highlights of the Congress program are deftly sketched. Even in the wider compass of a longish review, it is impossible to address all the issues raised in these papers-become-articles; but it is possible to provide a survey of their contents, with occasional comments, according to categories that often turn out to be those of the Congress program itself.

Collections. There has recently been great attention paid to collections, what they contain, how they were acquired. For a series of such reports, see now Willy Clarysse and Herbert Verreth (eds.), *Papyrus Collections World Wide, 9-10 March 2000 (Brussels-Leuven)* (Brussels 2000). At Florence the following collections were

described: Athens (with some troubling details on the final days of donor Al. Oikonomides) [B.G. Mandilaras]; Belgian collections, including a detailed census of papyri [A. Martin]; Berlin [†W. Brashear]; Geneva (whose acquisitions are owed mainly to the initiative of Jules Nicole) [I. Jornot-Garcia]; Hamburg [M. Salvo]; the Petrie Museum at University College London (cartonnage from the 1907 excavations at Rifeh) [J. Tait]; Michigan (an especially detailed and valuable report) [T. Gagos]; the State University of Milan [G. Bastianini]; Pennsylvania (the Center for Judaic Studies) [R.A. Kraft]; and Prague (the Coptic papyri) [W.B. Oerter]. The various collections reports I have read, both here and in *Papyrus Collections World Wide*, tend to vary in length and detail. I think every papyrologist would agree that the more detail the better, especially when it comes to information about how collections acquired their papyri, an aspect that is so important for what is now commonly known as:

Museum archaeology, the scholarly effort to reconstitute and reintegrate scattered papyri according to their original findspots (and contexts) and to reestablish their original mutual relationships; in other terms, an archival archaeology that attempts to reintegrate what has been poorly reported by salvage archaeology and scattered by clandestine digging and the trade in antiquities. A noteworthy project along these lines is one on the Ptolemaic cartonnage papyri from al-Hiba [M.R. Falivene], with a careful classification of criteria by which these (both those excavated by Grenfell and Hunt in 1902 and 1903 and those, both literary and documentary, that were acquired and dispersed through the antiquities market) can be identified. This contribution attempts a "virtual reconstruction" of the relationships of the papyri and the circumstances of their writing before they were "recycled" as cartonnage for the al-Hiba necropolis, identifying "una sorta di stratigrafia" in the accumulation of pieces for the al-Hiba "library." Another contribution uses papyrus documents, prosopographical cross-referencing, and house-archaeology in reconstructing the second-century Karanis "archive" of Socrates son of Sarapion [S. Strassi]. Elsewhere we learn still more about the archive of Dioscorus of Aphroditto [J.-L. Fournet], including the suggested distinction between sets of Aphroditto documents. Was there, after all, a second Aphroditto "ar-

chive," that of Phoibammon son of Triadelphos, whose documents are linked to the Michaelides, Michigan, and Vatican collections (not to those in Cairo or London)? Also important is a documentary reconstruction of the archive of the monastery of Apollo of Bawit [S. Clackson].

New discoveries. Although archaeological activity in recent years has produced large numbers of new (often still unpublished) papyri and ostraca (see Roger S. Bagnall, "Archaeological Work on Hellenistic and Roman Egypt," *AJA* 105 [2001] 227-242), reports on new discoveries at the Florence Congress are limited to those at the Abi'or Cave near Jericho (1986, 1993 excavations) [N. Cohen] and those of the joint expedition of the University of Bologna and the University of Lecce at Bacchias in the Fayyum [M. Capasso]—both of which have produced mostly smallish fragments.

Preliminary discussions of documentary editions (or re-editions) in progress, sometimes with sample texts (see also below, on Herculaneum). These include the single piece, P.Haun. 407 with its new evidence on land tenure in the Ptolemaic Apollonopolite nome [T. Christensen], and groups of documents: Ptolemaic texts from mummy cartonnage in the Berlin Museum, from Rubensohn's excavations at Abusir el-Melek, 1903-1905, with a prospectus on the (then) forthcoming *BGU XVIII*, with archival texts, some seemingly relevant to the Theban revolt of 88-85 B.C. (see now *BGU XVIII* Pt. 1, published in 2000 [P. Sarischouli]); the re-edition of *P.Gen.* I (see now Paul Schubert and Isabelle Jornot, *Les papyrus de Genève*, Premier Volume, 2^e edition, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Ville de Genève, 2002) [I. Jornot-Garcia]; a set of Lykopolite papyri, one of four lots acquired by Seymour de Ricci for the Académie des Inscriptions, of interest for their rare provenance and date range, 420-550 [J. Gascoü]; and several new projected editions of texts from the papers, Greek and Coptic, of Dioscorus of Aphrodito [J.-L. Fournet]. The largest current "edition in progress" is the Petra papyri, involving teams of scholars from Finland (see now J. Frösén *et al.*, *The Petra Papyri* I [Amman 2002]) and Michigan, and, by the time this review is published, nearly ten years' patient and painstaking work. A session of eight papers on Petra was held in Florence; all are printed here. Here we find a general survey of the Petra papyri [J. Frösén]; preliminary

remarks on Petra prosopography, with a stemma for the archive's principal figure, Theodoros son of Obodianos, and a chronological sketch of his life (of interest here: Petra's connections with Gaza) [M. Lehtinen]; and a detailed consideration of the Arabic place names that emerge in the archive's Greek, especially in one of its best-preserved documents, inv. 10, a lengthy and complicated division of property assigned to the Michigan team [R.W. Daniel]. Here that document on its own receives an excerpt-with-discussion and an extensive linguistic and socio-legal treatment, demonstrating (among other things) the value of the Nessana papyri, out there alone for so long, for interpreting the Petra papyri and concluding that the language and procedures reflected in inv. 10 are after all much like those in contemporary (sixth-century) Egypt [L. Koenen]. Likewise treated in depth is the Finnish team's most important document, inv. 83, the settlement of a dispute about urban water rights (and other matters) not in Petra, but in the garrison town of Sadaqa (Zadakatha), in the long history of whose complications lies the figure of the Ghassanid phylarch Abu Kharib, for whom see Irfan Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C. 1995), *passim* [M. Kaimio]. Lesser documents, inv. 68, not a marriage contract but supplemental to one [A. Arjava], and inv. 69, fragments on taxes and a theft report [M. Vesterinen], receive due attention. The Petra papyri provide a *point d'appui* for a rich discussion of "Byzantine settlements in Petra and elsewhere" [T. Gagos].

Publications/discussions of new papyri:

(a) literary and sub-literary: a Michigan fragment of the romance of Metiochos and Parthenope [J. Alvares and T. Renner]; two Oxyrhynchus comic fragments, one seemingly from Menander's *Hymnis* [C. Austin]; some scrappy Geneva fragments apparently having to do with reading signs during sacrifices [A. Hurst]; a good introductory description of the much-anticipated Milan roll containing epigrams of Poseidippos by one of the text's editors [G. Bastianini] (now published, Milan 2001); a presentation of the intriguing fifth-century (A.D.) Greek "textbook" in Armenian script, now published in *ZPE* 129 (2000) 223-58 [J. Clackson].

(b) documentary: a Roman-period document from the Reinach Collection on the transportation of grain by ship (understanding the

text is difficult; to judge from the plates, some revision of the readings is needed) [C. Dumoulin]; two Ptolemaic fragments from the University Library in Turku (Finland), one of them mentioning μάχιμοι [H. Koskenniemi]; a (rare) two-columned letter (P.Lond.inv. 1228), probably from the archive of Apollonios the strategos (second century A.D.), for which see now *ZPE* 136 (2001) 182 [N. Litinas]; and a Lykopolis document of A.D. 535, of legal interest as "un acte relatif à une *antikatalage*," an exchange of land, involving land under lease [J. Gascou]. Of special interest to me (cf. *ZPE* 53 [1983] 245-50) is that the lessee in line 3 is an Aurelius but the space for his personal name is left blank. In addition: four London and Cairo pieces from the archive of Dioscorus (three Greek, one Coptic) [J.-L. Fournet], an Arabic marriage contract (A.D. 1023) from Copenhagen (P.Haun.Inv.Arab. 15), and a sixth-century Greek contract concerning marriage (P. Cair.inv. s.r. 3733 (22)) [A. Hanafi].

In the last document, a few editorial conclusions are vitiated by misinterpretation and misreading. The text refers seemingly, and very unusually (line 3), to a cistern of Hermes. It may then be in the next line that "Parthenion" (with a definite article in the dative case preceding, governed by a dubiously read μετά) refers not to the bride's *kyrios*, but to another topographical feature. The editor (pp. 571-2) construes ἡγεμονικῆς [τάξεως (lines 5-6) as referring to the ducal *officium*, but if the writer had meant ducal he would have written δουκιῆς or δουκιανῆς. Instead, the reference here is probably to the praesidial *officium* of the Thebaid. This helps secure the sixth-century date established by the editor on palaeographical grounds, but also provides a *terminus post quem* of 539 (the probable date of Justinian's Edict XIII). Most important, the reading of line 1 (see vol. III, plate XXV) needs full revision: its preserved portion in fact begins with Ἰδεκάτη (referring to the day of the month). This is followed by δευτέρου ἐνδ(ικτίονος), the latter word abbreviated with extensive flourish at the end of the line. The text therefore dates to a second, not (as presented) to a seventh indiction, and there is no mention of Hermopolis in this line. The temptation is to look elsewhere, to Antinoopolis, or perhaps even Aphrodito, for the provenance of this papyrus.

History, general. An important survey of "Documentary Papyrology and Ancient History" should be singled out [A.K. Bowman]. Also: an essay on the shift over time from beer to wine consumption in Egypt and from crop oils to olive oil, treated not as a function of dietary Hellenization but as a response to ecological necessity. According to the author of the latter, the demographic and fiscal pressure to produce wheat necessitated the use of as much arable land as possible. Vineyards and olive orchards did not compete for the

same kind of land but occupied specialty niches of artificially irrigated land; thus the success of wine and olive oil [P. van Minnen]. Equally wide-ranging but on a different topic is a lively essay on the "parabola" of Hellenism (*grecità*) in the valley of the Nile, stressing, against the views of earlier, perhaps more idealistic, generations of scholars, the coexistence rather than the integration or fusion of Greek and Egyptian cultures. This, in the author's view, led inevitably to the gradual extinction of Hellenism and the ultimate ascendancy of native culture [O. Montevecchi].

History, Ptolemaic. In terms of papyrology's traditional periods for Egyptian history, the Ptolemaic is best represented in this volume. An extract from Lucian, *Hippias* 2 (an anecdote about the architect Sostratos of Knidos), is read to imply a violent takeover of Egypt by Ptolemy I after the division of Alexander's empire at Babylon [Y. Litvinenko]. Other contributions consider the role of the city of Ptolemais beyond its own borders [M. Abd-el-Ghani] and the administrative adjudication of water rights disputes in Ptolemaic Egypt [B. Anagnostou-Canas]. An important theoretical paper issues a broad challenge to the traditional view of the central power of the Ptolemaic state: it was not based on a "command economy." Instead, the Ptolemaic style of governing was "loose," adaptive to and (in effect) dependent on local power structures and "complex tenure arrangements"—and quite successfully so, even at its weaker moments [J.G. Manning]. Other studies consider: the tax structure of the Ptolemaic Fayyum with its tax units ranging through several intermediate levels (tax districts) from the village (or hamlet) to the nome as a whole, somehow coordinated with both demography (by design?) and topography (by intention?) [D.J. Thompson]; the physical descriptions of Jews in Ptolemaic papyri (not much different from those of non-Jews) [I.F. Fikhman]; and a rare word (στρωματόδεμος/-ον) in Plutarch, *Caes.* 49.2, the famous introduction of Cleopatra to Caesar: she wasn't after all carried in concealed in a carpet but in a bedroll (Australian "swag"), and she must have been fairly diminutive to have made that logistically possible [J. Whitehorne].

History, Roman. The Roman period is represented by a survey of recent work on the administration of Roman Egypt, with special attention to the decline in authority of the strategos in the second

half of the third century and various problems associated with liturgies [J.D. Thomas]; and, from a dissertation in progress, a study of the nomarch, suggesting (against Oertel) that this was, in the Arsinoite, not a state office (*Staatsamt*), but a position based on tax-contracting (an appendix produces a new edition of *P.Bodl.* I 34) [F. Reiter]. One other contribution, inspired by the then-fresh publication of *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4435, sets out to clarify its context [B. Legras]. This entails a review of the conciliatory legislation of Septimius Severus aimed at the Alexandrian youth and Caracalla's subsequent "pathological" extra-legal massacre in 216 (shedding light by the way on *Dig.* 48.19.28.3 [Callistratus]).

History, post-Roman. The later periods are poorly represented; papers that might have been noted here—on Dioscorus of Aphroditō, on the Lykopolis papyri, on the monastery of Apollo at Bawit—have been mentioned above.

Law and society. Contributions here include a long and wide-ranging paper on legal anthropology and sociology in their possible application to juristic papyrology describing, by way of prolegomenon, how the Ptolemaic documents might be susceptible to such interdisciplinary treatment [J. Hengstl]. On points of detail, there are articles on: the reservation of special rooms in houses for menstruating women (more common than one might have thought) [F. Colin]; the capacity of women to pass on property, especially by means other than last wills and testaments (this is more a social than a legal study) [C. Balconi]; divorce procedures beyond the physical separation of husband and wife and the (probably nasty) procedure by accusation, mostly having to do (as one might expect) with the dowry and other property claims [U. Yiftach]; *katagraphe* as a registration of property whose concern was the transfer of tax liability from one party to the other, not just in sales but in other kinds of property transfers: gifts, donations, inheritances, cessions [M. Mirkovič]; weavers, textile workers, and the organization of their productive activities in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt [F. Ippolito]; and a close new look at the protracted and complicated "process" of Drusilla, with its overdue loans, hypothecated real estate, deceased debtor, change in children's guardians, and Drusilla herself, a Roman widow in an Egyptian environment, eager to preserve the family's property from confiscation and apparently skilled

at forestalling what should apparently have been an inevitable result [H.-A. Rupprecht].

Art and the documents: There are two articles of interest here, one on Fayyum mummy portraits, especially on the "type" of the bejeweled young woman, insisting (against Borg's thesis) on these portraits as realistic and made during the lifetimes of their subjects. The earrings, necklaces, etc., worn by the subjects symbolize their social class and wealth, but more importantly contribute to the realism of the portraits, as can be demonstrated by references from documentary papyri, especially marriage contracts with lots of jewelry among the bride's "parapherna" [G. Schenke]. The other article presents two more illuminated papyri from the Vienna collection, patterns for high-class clothing designs; the papyrus illustrations and appropriate textile exemplars are compared to good effect with illustrations, some in color (vol. III, Tav. XXVIII-XXXV) [U. Horak].

Miscellaneous papers on points of literary or documentary or linguistic detail will be found throughout. These consider the Egyptian literary forerunners to the pirate-herdsmen (*boukoloi*) of the Greek novels [I. Rutherford]; the supernatural in the Greek novel [V. Iljuschekkin]; the practice of magic associated with public baths (dangerous places especially after nightfall), though not reflected in the Greek magical papyri [B. Meyer]; calculations about the value of monads [R. Coles]; the pronunciation of Greek as suggested by ostraca from the eastern desert [A. Bülow-Jacobsen]; the festival uses of pine cones [M. Drew-Bear]; the mysterious slashed *pi* centered on the first line of nearly 60 published letters of the Byzantine period. The latter does not represent $\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha})$ as first hypothesized by Grenfell and Hunt, and followed by many afterwards, but a monogram abbreviating the greeting $\pi(\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha)\ \chi(\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\nu)$ [S. Daris]. Perhaps most important in this potpourri is an article, which may now be conveniently paired with Willy Clarysse's "Greek Accents on Egyptian Names," *ZPE* 119 (1997) 177-84, on the Greek accentuation of Latin words [J. Kramer]. The basic point here (*contra* "Wackernagel's Rule") is that Latin words taken over into Greek were accented by Greek rules uninfluenced by the stress accents of the words when they were still Latin: once borrowed words were fully "Hellenized." One paper makes creative and effective use of

the documentary papyri to elucidate passages in the works of John Philoponus [L.S.B. MacCoull].

Reconsiderations of published literary and sub-literary papyri. A host of *P.Oxy.* literary papyri come up for review: *P.Oxy.* IV 664 + L 3544, a dialogue *de imperio* dramatically set in 6th-century B.C. Corinth, with the suggestion that Πύρρονδρος at Aristophanes, *Equites* 901 is a corruption of Περίανδρος [W. Lapini]; *P.Oxy.* VIII 1086, scholia on *Iliad* II, which seem to derive rather directly, as Grenfell and Hunt had noted, from Aristarchus [J. London]. The author of the latter discusses four exemplary passages (out of a possible 41), comments for which Aristarchus is not credited by name, but whose methods are undeniably Aristarchan. More: a re-edition with extensive commentary on *P.Oxy.* XV 1796 verso (both columns), a botanical poem on trees and plants familiar in the Egyptian landscape, with the persea tree as a leading example [D. Fausti]; *P.Oxy.* XX 2262 and the conclusion to the prologue of Callimachus' *Aitia* [N. Natalucci]. A paper on *P.Oxy.* XXVI 2438 and Pindar's chronology discusses in particular how the phrase ἐπibάλλω + dative is technical rather than generic in the biographical tradition for indicating a younger man's birth (here, Pindar's) in terms of an older contemporary's *floruit* (here, Simonides'), with a generation computed at from thirty to forty years [M. Negri]. And still more: A study of *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2569, with its alphabetical list of comic poets and their plays, devotes specific attention to Aristophanes, for whom it appears that although some plays may have been lost, based on this list as many as 35 of the 44 known plays were still available in second-century Oxyrhynchus [R. Otranto]. A survey of passages in tachygraphic papyri, specifically those in commentary form (clusters of tetrads of associated words, often with one of them an author's name), calls for a revised edition of H. J. M. Milne's *Greek Shorthand Manuals* [G. Menci]. School papyri of Homer are positively evaluated for their contribution to the textual tradition [R. Cribiore]. A reconsideration of the Kellis Isocrates tablets and their annotations concludes they were a teacher's copy for instructing students who knew how to read but were not yet at the grammatical stage of education and speculates about the exemplar from which they were copied (a papyrus codex, perhaps double-columned) [K. McNamee]. A study of *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 46 reaf-

firms its second-century date and its literary (rather than documentary) nature as an account of the Ethiopian campaign of the prefect Petronius early in Augustus's reign [P. Manolli]. The Ptolemaic anthologies, *P.Tebt.* I 1 and 2, literary extracts with documentary intrusions (including the famous amnesty decree of 118 B.C.), are presented as having been copied for symposiastic recitations [F. Pordomingo]. The famous illustrated Tebtunis herbal, *P.Tebt.* II 679, is extensively discussed, partly in connection with *P.Tebt.Tait* 39-41 [A.E. Hanson]. Edition projects include one on Favorinus, *De exilio* (Pap.Vat.Gr. 11), with samples of revised readings [A. Tepedino Guerra], and a project entitled *Commentaria et lexica graeca in papyris reperta (CLGP)* [F. Montanari]. The structure and layout of this four-part work, a corpus of commentaries and lexica, are described, followed by a close discussion of *P.Oxy.* LXV 4452 fragment 1 (on Iliad XIX) to demonstrate the manifold value of these sometimes neglected texts.

The Herculaneum papyri, conveniently treated as a subset of literary papyri, are represented by more than a dozen papers (one published as abstract only [K. Kleve]). These include two general papers, one on theory and praxis in Philodemos' *Rhetoric* [R. Farese], the other a fervent defense of Philodemos' Epicurean orthodoxy: He may not have written his own *Physics* (*De natura*), but in his ethical treatises he quotes liberally from the Master's own work on the subject [†M. Gigante]. The remaining contributions may be categorized as "new readings," for the most part preparatory to full re-editions of the works in question: "una revisione globale," as one author puts it, facilitated by new autopsy, intervening scholarship, databases, and the technological blessings of the electronic binocular microscope. These include the reconsideration of a passage in Philodemos' *De bono rege* (*On the Good King according to Homer*), *P.Herc.* 1507, Col. 34 [J. Fish]; the physical reconstruction of Philodemos' Book 4 *De musica* (*On Music*), assorted *P.Herc.* numbers [D. Delattre]; the identification and reconstruction of three new initial titles in *P.Herc.* 222, 253, 1786 [M. Capasso]; a piece on the diacritical signs now visible (thanks to electronic microscopy) in Epicurus' *De natura*, *P.Herc.* 1065 [P. Danella]; examples of new readings in *P.Herc.* 1431, also from Epicurus' *De natura* [G. Leone]. A re-reading of the damaged subscription, along with

other considerations, leads to the suggestion that this papyrus belongs to Book XXVII, supporting David Sedley's reassignment of *P.Herc.* 1417/1479 to Book XXVIII. Further: a new reading of a passage in Epicurus' *Peri Chronou*, *P.Herc.* 1413 [A. D'Angelo]; a demonstration of how corrected readings of stichometrical notations assist in the physical reconstruction of fragmentary rolls, with *P.Herc.* 403 + 1581 + 1425 as a case point (the first two, in that order, come from the early part of the same roll as the third) [G. Del Mastrol]; prolegomena to a proposed new edition of *P.Herc.* 1008 (Philodemos' *De vitiis* Book X), where (among much else) we briefly meet Pasquale Baffi, the Herculaneum Academician condemned to death in 1799 for his republican sympathies [G. Indelli]; new readings in *P.Herc.* 1055, lending further substance to Crönert's assignment of this text (whose subscription is lost) to Demetrius the Laconian, in a polemical work on *The Form of God* [M. Santoro]; a study of Philodemos' "Epicurean Memoirs," or *Pragmateiai*, an anthology of letters from Epicurus and his early disciples, with Philodemos providing occasional editorial links, important for the early history of "The Garden" [C. Militello]. The two papyri under discussion in the last contribution, *P.Herc.* 1418 and 310, are demonstrably copies from the same exemplar.

Palaeography. Here we can find a small jeremiad with, as its starting point, Bernard de Montfaucon's treatment (1708) of Greek palaeography as a unitary field unfortunately fractured subsequently in the isolation of our standard handbooks on the palaeography of the papyri [G. Cavallo]. Another paper demonstrates in practical terms the value of a unitary view of palaeography in its study of the oldest surviving Greek books (about ten in all, beginning with the Derveni papyrus), whose "quadrate" palaeography is strongly reminiscent of contemporary inscriptions [E. Crisci]. As for the teaching of writing in antiquity, as treated in another paper, the concern was not just letter shapes, but the order of strokes (*ductus*) to be used in drawing them. Here can be found an interplay between conservatism and variation [A. Blanchard].

Christianity and the documents. From a project under the auspices of the University of Salzburg's Institut für Neutestamentliche Bibelwissenschaften come two articles on the language of the documentary papyri and the New Testament, one comparing the

language of the *Epistle of Philemon* and apprenticeship contracts for weavers [P. Artz-Grabner]. The other, though concerned specifically with *First Corinthians*, sketches the general curve of such studies since the days of Deissmann's ebullience and their aftermath, and, among other points, uses the example of the verb $\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\iota\acute{o}\omega$ in 1 Cor. 1:4-6 to caution against an insistence on a narrow juristic meaning of the verb as exemplified in papyrus-contracts [F. Winter]. An Australian project seeks to compile a New Testament lexicon with documentary parallels [G. Horsley]. A consideration of *nomina sacra* as pertinent to early papyri of the New Testament, including the famous Magdalen College Matthew, suggests that although *nomina sacra* increased in number over time from four to 32 and should be in principle useful as criteria for the relative dating of New Testament papyri, they pose complications that make applying this information not as easy as one may think, not only for the surviving manuscripts, but for notional reconstructions of their exemplars [R. Nevius]. Another paper compares color terms in the Bible and the documentary papyri, especially as found in marriage contracts where clothing items of dowries are listed and described [A. Passoni dell'Acqua]. There are also under this heading a series of "notationes legentis" on a series of Christian letters on papyrus [†M. Naldini]; a survey of recently published Christian documentary papyri (to 325 A.D.) with some astute remarks on the corpus (now 46) of *libelli* of the Decian persecution [E. Wipszycka]; and a reconsideration of *P.Lond.* VI 1914 in its historical context (May 335, just before the Synod of Tyre), exonerating Sir Harold Bell particularly against the revisionist efforts of D. W.-H. Arnold [H. Hauben].

The literature of Egyptian Christianity. One article describes a project to produce an edition of the Sahidic Coptic text of the Jeremian corpus (Jeremiah, Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, Baruch), with a clear presentation of the inherent problems [F. Feder]. Another offers textual observations on *P.Oxy.* LXV 4442, verses from *Exodos*, with special attention to verses 13-16 (papyrus verso, lines 15-16) and the order of the commandments about adultery, theft, and homicide [D. Colomo]. A re-edition of *P.Oxy.* II 210, with its version of the good-tree good-fruit parable, affirms its status as an apocryphal gospel and explores its broader implica-

tions for Egyptian Christianity before the doctrinal divisions of later centuries [S. Porter]. There are editions of two new fragments from the apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres (Egyptian magicians, opponents of Moses), one from Michigan (a fragmentary sheet from a roll; the verso provides genealogical details from the beginning of the work) and the other from Heidelberg (a codex leaf; one side with the scene of the drowning of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea, the other, with Jannes' lamentation over his terminal illness) [G. Schmelz]. Both fragments are assigned palaeographically to the fourth century; the latter's episodes overlap parts of *P. Bodmer XXVI* as reconstructed by Albert Pietersma. Another contribution reconstructs the Vienna fragments of a Byzantine liturgical booklet for Palm Sunday (probably 5th century, Fayyum; in Greek) [C. Grassien]; yet another presents a Strasbourg codex leaf with a liturgical hymn from the canon for the Feast of the Presentation, attributed to Cosmas of Maiouma (fl. 7th-8th centuries) [G. Husson].

Imaging and technology. Here one can learn about Phase Congruency Shadow Stereo and the imaging of incised Vindolanda tablets [A.K. Bowman]; the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) [W. Clarysse]; the automatization of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, with a description of the conversion process from index cards to database files and a list of anticipated publications related to this work [L. Mooren]; PIXE-analysis of chemical elements in inks and paints used on papyrus and other writing materials [I. Andorlini *et al.*]; satellite images and archaeological sites (including Antinoopolis, with plates, some in color) [M. Calamia *et al.*].

Mapping and archaeology. Of course, as demonstrated by one of the relevant articles here, schematic maps of regions can, and have been, made merely on the basis of the documentary papyri [cf. M.R. Falivene] (the results being what Dominic Rathbone sometimes refers to as "tube maps"), but better yet when these schematic maps can be tested on the ground by survey archaeology like that recently conducted in the southwest Fayyum, and now proceeding northwards [D. Rathbone]. A short piece (apparently only an abstract) touts the great value of the GPS (Global Positioning System), especially for sites in the desert [S.E. Sidebotham]. Another paper calculates the water inflow into the Fayyum in relation to the lake level of the Birka, concluding that

the Hellenistic-Roman lake level is comparable to that of today. The archaeological possibilities of the site of Qaret el-Rusas, at the far eastern shore of the lake, are recommended [P. Davoli]. Still another paper offers rules of thumb for identifying ancient sites using modern maps, telltale place names (non-Arabic), and on-the-ground inspection [R. Müller-Wollermann].

What conclusions can be drawn from this rich and varied collection? To start with, there is no doubt that we are presented with a mix of what is traditionally expected sprinkled with ingredients that are new (though not always entirely new). The former includes, as always, the challenging, ongoing grunt work of editing and presenting the papyri to the public in usable editions, the abiding interest in papyrology as hoped-for handmaiden to Christian religious studies, and the intense interest among classicists in literary papyri. The latter includes the applications of new technologies to the documents and to the landscape, the closer attention to papyri as physical artifacts (including their layouts), the programmatic endeavors to reassign papyri to their archaeological settings, the promise of the Petra papyri. Ptolemaic historical studies seem to be especially lively; interest in the post-Roman periods has grown, but still lags.

Much of this would have been familiar to those who attended the first papyrological congress in Florence, the fourth in the series, in 1935; but much would have been unexpected. That congress, whose published *Acta* included 39 contributions in 496 pages, featured a half-dozen papers on juristic papyrology and a handful on the recent Italian excavations at Tebtunis, but also two papers in which the Herculaneum papyri play a role and one on new techniques for photographing ostraca. Still the 1935 "congressisti" probably would have been astonished at recent technological advances and more than pleasantly surprised at the thriving specialty in the Herculaneum papyri with its extraordinary advances, an industry all its own. They—I mean Bell, Calderini, Collart, Jouguet, Martin, Taubenschlag, Vitelli (present in spirit but indisposed), Wilcken, and the rest—might also, as suggested in Naphtali Lewis's

"Reminiscences" (II 1343-4), have been pleasantly surprised at the growth in the association's membership and the numbers in attendance. Only one American gave a paper at the 4th Congress, H.A. Sanders, on projects involving the Michigan collection. There were no Australians. The airplane has helped to make the congresses increasingly and more truly international.

But from today's perspective, what is most remarkable is how well the *amicitia* has weathered the turbulent events since 1935, a fact amply attested by the volumes here under review, with their gracious inaugural pieces and concluding reminiscences. It is hard not to be moved when reading, as I did for a pleasant hour or so in the stacks of the Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago, the "Resoconto" of the 4th Congress (pp. xiii-xxv in the Acta). The pages are discolored and dry, the volume itself brittle and stored in a protective box. In it I read about the opening pageantry in the Grande Salone dei Ducento in the Pallazzo Vecchio, the dignitaries (political and papyrological) on the dais, the proudly displayed "gonfalon of the comune," the attendant valets and trumpeters in costume; Pierre Jouguet's elegant remarks on papyrology as "une collaboration ignorant la jalousie comme les frontières"; the narrative diary of papers delivered and excursions undertaken; the acclamation to meet next (in 1937 or 1938) in Oxford; the closing remarks about papyrology as a fraternity, a new renaissance in classical studies, a new Humanism better than the old, faith in the progress of all humanity. In the aftermath, much of this seems exaggerated, and trenchantly, sadly ironic—but not without a sparkle of truth and genuine hope.

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SARISCHOULI, PANAGIOTA. *Spätptolemäische Urkunden aus dem Herakleopolites*. Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden, XVIII.1 Band. Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz; 2000. 135 pages + 29 plates. ISBN 3-88609-413-8.

This new volume of papyri from the Berlin collection contains 29 texts that derive from one piece of mummy cartonnage. This cartonnage is part of a larger group that was discovered in Abusir el-Melek (ancient Bousiris) during the excavations carried out by Otto Rubensohn in the years 1903-1905. Papyri coming from the same group of cartonnages have already been published elsewhere.¹

In her general introduction, the editor discusses the process of recovering papyri from cartonnage (section I), historical aspects of the late Ptolemaic period (section II), prosopography (section III), and the contents and date of the papyri (section IV). Each text is accompanied by an introduction, translation and commentary. There are four brief appendices, dealing with the cast of officials in the Herakleopolite nome in the early first century B.C.² (I), prices for houses in the same period (II), monetary matters (III), and *arabotoxotai* (IV). At the end follow black and white plates of all texts included in the volume.

The editor distinguishes two archives: the archive of the *basilikos grammateus* Peteimouthes (2731-2752) and the archive of the *basilikos grammateus* Harchebis (2753-2757). In addition there are two single texts that cannot be attributed to an archive (2758-2759). All papyri come from the Herakleopolite nome and date to the first century, which is still an underrepresented period in the papyrological documentation. The new texts, detailing palaeographical, linguistic, administrative, and socio-economic aspects of this period, are therefore more than welcome.

¹ See the overviews by W. Brashear, *BGU* XIV Introd. (for the literary texts) and E. Salmenkivi in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (1997) 1084, nn. 4-5 (for the documentary texts).

² All dates are B.C., unless otherwise stated.

Since both archives ended up in the same mummy cartonnage, they must have been together at the time of mummification. Although more texts from the same cartonnage, and belonging to the same archives, are yet to be published,³ it would seem that all documents indeed reached the mummifiers in one lot. As such, we once again have the contents of the wastepaper basket of one of Egypt's official archives (see also *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 29), comprising the texts removed from the archive of the *basilikos grammateus* of the Herakleopolite nome at some point after 78 (the date of the second archive). The fact that the group of papyri most likely reached the mummifiers as one lot also supports the date proposed by the editor for the second archive (78/77) versus the later date (49/8) proposed elsewhere (see pp. 30-4 for discussion). I do not think that the archival importance of the documents presented here (largely concerned with the grain transport of one particular year, and therefore outdated once the year was over) would warrant them being kept in the archives for about 40 years.

The archive of Peteimouthes is the larger of the two. It contains 22 texts, all dating to 87-85 (regnal years 31 and 32 of Ptolemy IX Soter II). The majority of these are incoming documents. Thus there are two petitions (**2731** [year 31 = 87/6]; **2732**⁴ [no year mentioned]), and thirteen letters addressed to Peteimouthes by Sarapion, the overseer of the revenues (ἐπὶ τῶν προκόδων)⁵ of the Herakleopolite nome (**2733** [year 31, Choiak 7 = 19 Dec. 87]; **2734** [year 32, Choiak=Dec.86/Jan.85]; **2735** [year 32, Hathur 29⁶ = 11 Dec. 86]; **2736** [year 31 = 87/6]; **2737** [year 31 supplied = 87/6]; **2739** [no year mentioned]; **2742B** [year 31, Pauni 20 = 30 June 86]; **2744**

³ I do not understand why the remaining portion of the text belonging to **2748** was not published here. I do hope that the coming publication of this fragment will present the entire text, including **2748**.

⁴ See the corrections to lines 6 and 12-13 by Charikleia Armoni, "Bemerkungen zu Urkunden," *ZPE* 136 (2001) 169-173, at 171-2.

⁵ I agree with Armoni, *ibid.* 171 n. 14 and Bärbel Kramer, "Urkundenreferat," *APF* 47 (2001) 284-376, at 286, that Sarapion is not to be identified as *strategos* and overseer of the revenues, but only as acting in the second capacity.

⁶ See Armoni, *ibid.* 172.

[year 31, Pharmouthi 11 = 22 Apr. 86]; **2747** [year 31, Mecheir⁷ = Feb./Mar. 86]; **2748** [year 31, Mecheir 6 = 16 Feb. 86]; **2749** [ca. year 31, Epeiph 8 = 21 June 86]; **2750** [year 31, Pharmouthi 16 = 27 April 86]; **2752** [year 31, Pauni = June/July 86]. All the letters from Sarapion to Peteimouthes consist of copies sent by Sarapion to another official, in all but one case (**2744**) to the *sitologos* Leonides.⁸ The letters order Leonides to measure out grain, or to ensure that it is loaded on boats for shipment to Alexandria. These orders are copied to Peteimouthes in all cases because he is supposed to also order (συνεπιτέλλειν) or underwrite (συνυπογράφειν) the measuring of grain by Leonides.

The remaining seven texts in the archive of Peteimouthes are, according to the editor, copies made by Peteimouthes of correspondence addressed by him to others. I would rather say they are drafts made by (the office of) Peteimouthes, which were then copied and sent out.⁹ They are: **2738** [year 31, Epeiph 22 = 1 Aug. 86]; **2740** [year 31 supplied = 87/6]; **2741** [year 31, Mecheir 18 = 28 Feb. 86]; **2742A** [year 31, Pauni 25 = 5 July 86]; **2743** [year 31, Pauni 26 = 6 July 86]; **2745** [year 31, Pharmouthi 15 = 26 Apr. 86]; **2746A** [year 32 supplied = 86/5]; **2746B** [year 32, Hathur 16 = 28 Nov. 86]; **2746C** [year 32 implied = 86/5]; **2751** [no date; spring 86]. Two of these are addressed to the secretary (ἀντιγραφεύς) of the bank (**2745**; **2746B**), the remainder to secretaries of granaries in different toparchies.

In a number of cases, the incoming and outgoing correspondence are related, as can be seen most clearly in the case of **2742**, a *tomos sunkollesimos* containing a copy of correspondence by Peteimouthes, in this case to Semtheus, the secretary of the granary of the Peri Polin toparchy (col. I), and the incoming letter from Sarapion (col. II). The letter from Sarapion is dated Pauni 20 (30

⁷ Instead of the reading of the Macedonian month name Peritios by the editor, see below.

⁸ I think that the editor is right in suggesting that the correspondence surviving in **2735** and **2736** was also addressed to Leonides.

⁹ Thus corrections can be found in three of the seven drafts: **2740**, **2741**, **2743**.

June 86), the note from Peteimouthes Pauni 25 (5 July 86). The combination of these two texts is very informative about the administrative procedure followed by the *basilikos grammateus*. Sarapion orders the *sitologos* Leonides to measure out a certain amount of artabas of wheat that he will receive from a certain Komapais (col. II, lines 5-13). The *basilikos grammateus* Peteimouthes will have to underwrite this procedure (II, lines 9-10). Sarapion then sends a copy of the letter to Leonides to Peteimouthes (col. II, lines 1-13), who, thus informed, may indeed underwrite together with Leonides. In his turn, Peteimouthes informs the secretary of the granary of the Peri Polin toparchy about the coming procedures (col. I, lines 3-10; incomplete).

While the basic procedure thus is very simple, the picture is confused somewhat by the occurrence of various notations in different hands on the two letters. At the top of the first column there is a note stating that the text has been read (line 1, ἀνεγνώ() for ἀνέγνω(ν) or ἀνέγνω(ται) instead of the completely incomprehensible Ἀκκληπι(ιάδει) read by the editor),¹⁰ and that a copy was made (line 2; see also n. 13 below), both on the same day (5 July 86). At the bottom of the second column, there are two notations, one "to the scribes" (lines 14-15), the other "to Herakleodoros" (line 16). The editor reads the month name in the first notation (line 15) as Ἐπ[εῖφ, that is, July/August 86. However, in two parallel cases, notations to scribes and Herakleodoros are made on the same day as the date of the letter from Sarapion to Peteimouthes: **2744** and **2750** (Pharmouthi 11 and Pharmouthi 16 respectively).¹¹ It is therefore likely that in the case of **2742** the notes were made on the same day as well, and indeed it might be possible to restore Πα[ῶνι κ in line 15, and supply it in line 16. In all, this suggests that the marginal notations at the bottom of the letter of Sarapion were

¹⁰ This particular improvement to the text was made by Dieter Hagedorn. See Armoni, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 173.

¹¹ This would suggest that the date of **2749**, line 4 can be restored to the year 31, Epeiph 8 (the date of the marginal notations at the bottom).

made in the office of Sarapion, the overseer of the revenues, rather than in the office of Peteimouthes.¹²

The notes at the top of the first column were made at a later stage, after the letter had been received by Peteimouthes, and they show the next phase in the bureaucratic procedure. Peteimouthes drafts a letter to Semtheus, the secretary of the granary (most likely by dictation), has it copied into a final letter that at some stage was sent off to Semtheus, and checks the final letter against the draft.¹³ This letter will have included all correspondence leading up to it, including the order from Sarapion, which incorporated the letter to Leonides.

One may wonder whether in the other cases of such related correspondence (the letter of Sarapion and the draft by Peteimouthes), the documents were pasted together as well to form a *tomos sunkollesimos*. Thus **2737** contains the letter from Sarapion to Peteimouthes informing him of the letter sent to Leonides ordering the latter to load 2,000 artabas on a boat; **2738** is the note from Peteimouthes informing most likely the secretary of one of the granaries about what is happening. In **2750** Sarapion sends Peteimouthes a copy of his letter to the sitologos Leonides ordering the latter to pay 20 *arabotoxotai*; **2751** is the note in which Peteimouthes informs the secretary of the granary of the Peri Polin toparchy about this order. It may well have been that these texts were also pasted together originally, but were separated again during either the production or the destruction of the cartonnage.

¹² This would render an interpretation of Herakleodoros as an official in the office of the *basilikos grammateus* (p. 33) less likely.

¹³ Although it cannot be established with certainty, it would seem that the second notation was made first, and that the first one was made last: the letter has to be copied before it can be "read," that is, checked for content (see *BGU VIII* 1795 Introd. for this interpretation of ἀνεγνώ()). I am not very comfortable with the reading ἀντιγρ(. Especially in **2745** II, line 1, the traces look more like με-ταγρ(), which could be expanded to a form of the aorist passive participle of μεταγράφω, "to copy" (see F. Preisigke, *WB II* s.v.). Also in **2742** col. I, line 2, and **2743**, line 2, I am not happy with ἀντιγρ(), and there too μεταγρ() seems to fit the traces better, although admittedly not as neatly as in **2745**.

The archive of Harchebis comprises 5 texts, two of which can be dated to 78. This archive, therefore, is a decade later than the archive of Peteimouthes. All texts in this archive are letters from Andromachos, who is identified as *strategos* by the editor, but who, on the basis of the parallel texts in the archive of Peteimouthes, could be the overseer of the revenues (ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων) again: **2753** [year 4, Hathur 11 = 21 Nov. 78]; **2754** [year 4, Hathur 22 = 2 Dec. 78]; **2755** [no year preserved]; **2756** [no year preserved]; **2757** [no year preserved]. All of these letters sent to Harbechis include copies of correspondence sent by Andromachos to the *sitologos* Leonides. It may well be that here we have a link between the archives of Peteimouthes and Harbechis: nearly all documents have to do with grain, and hence with the *sitologos* Leonides.

The editor has done a remarkable job in reading these first century B.C. documents, which are, in all their cursiveness, hard to read as they are, but even more so because they derive from mummy cartonnage. Although the editor acknowledges that she is not aiming "die Texte unter allen Gesichtspunkten auszuwerten" (p. 21), her commentary is somewhat uneven. There is ample discussion of certain aspects of the documents (some of which do not really need such extensive treatment), but commentary is lacking in other cases where the reader may need it. A good example of such an omission concerns the word κατάλογος in **2732**, line 6, which is discussed only palaeographically. However, as noted elsewhere, κατάλογος is unusual in this context, and its presence requires some more explanation (or the reading should be changed).¹⁴ Furthermore, in **2747**, line 2, there suddenly occurs a Macedonian month name. Although this is a very strange occurrence, both in the archive itself and in first century B.C. nome documents in general, the editor does not comment on its possible significance. In fact no significance should be attached to it, because I think it is possible to read Μεχ[ε]ῖρ, a normal Egyptian month name.¹⁵

¹⁴ See Armoni, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 172-3.

¹⁵ The text should then be dated to February/March 86. It still remains interesting that the grain delivery mentioned in the text refers to the coming 32nd

Overall, we have to thank the editor for persevering and presenting to us such difficult texts, which are a welcome addition to what we know about the early first century. The texts offer various points of interest which warrant further study, especially in relation to the other first century cartonnage texts from the Herakleopolite nome which have been published elsewhere (e.g. *BGU* VIII), or which will be published (by the editor and others).

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year (86/5). I am not sure if I can agree with the reading Παλαῖ Στρατιῆρου, suggested by Armoni, *ibid.* 174-5, although admittedly the reading παλαιστρατιώταις as proposed by the editor is also not very convincing.

BOWMAN, ALAN K., P. GARNSEY, and D. RATHBONE (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History. Second Edition, Volume XI. The High Empire, A.D. 70 - 192*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2000. xxi + 1222 pages + maps and tables. ISBN: 0 521 26335 hardback.

The *Cambridge Ancient History* (CAH) justly remains one of the cornerstones of the study of ancient history in the English speaking world. It is also incidentally one of the few places where English speaking specialists reading outside their own fields of interest, interested general readers, and monolingual students can easily access the work of eminent European scholars. That tradition, established right from the beginning with CAH I¹ and exemplified too in the first edition of this volume, is continued here. The whole of Part II, on Government and Civil Administration, has been written by W. Eck, and other chapters have been contributed by H. Galsterer (ch. 10: Local and Provincial Institutions and Government), G. Alföldy (ch. 13: Spain), C. Goudineau (ch. 14: Gaul), C. Rüger (ch. 15: Roman Germany), M. Sartre (ch. 21: Syria and Arabia) and J. Andreau (ch. 26: Commerce and Finance). Such a diversity and depth of scholarship is most welcome and underlines yet again the truly international and authoritative nature of the CAH.

This new edition of Volume XI has been retitled "The High Empire" instead of the first edition's "The Imperial Peace," a change which is explained by the Editors (p. xix) in terms of a desire to present "a more dynamic picture" of the empire's survival. Nonetheless the title change perhaps sits uneasily with the more devolved and less centralist view of the Roman empire taken here, following on the pattern of the new edition of Volume X. It could also well be argued that *pax* was more important than *imperium* to most provincials throughout this period and that, to judge from the evidence from Roman Egypt at least, the majority of the empire's inhabitants had little personal contact with Roman imperial officialdom beyond the local level.

As with the previous volume, there has been something of a time lag between when the chapters were written and their final appearance. That probably does not matter too much. The Editors note (p. xxi) that most of the contributions were written between 1991 and 1994, and that early contributors had the opportunity to update their contributions (although Alföldy's chapter 13 was written as far back as 1986) and there are many references in the bibliography to works published as late as 1997 and 1998. In any case a *CAH* volume is meant to be more like a *grand cru* Bordeaux (as it certainly is in price) than a Beaujolais nouveau: something that is well rounded and satisfying now and will also be just as good, if not better, thirty years down the track. I think that this volume goes a long way towards meeting those criteria, just as its predecessor, published first in 1936, has done.

To the format of the new edition. An initial Narrative section, Part I, first gives us a broad overview of the political history of the period. M. Griffin gives a crisp account of the Flavians and follows it up with Nerva to Hadrian in Chapter 2. She could unfortunately take no account of B.M. Levick's recent *Vespasian* (London, 1999) (see p. 1, n. 1). Chapter 3 on Hadrian to the Antonines, by A.R. Birley, is equally matter-of-fact, although leavened by some nice touches of detail (p. 144: Hadrian in Egypt; p. 153: quotations from Aelius Aristides; p. 171: Marcus' Danube-swimming lions; p. 192: Commodus in the arena), reminding us as always of the utter truth of the truism that "the past is another country." Birley of course has an inside track when it comes to citing recent works since he himself is often the writer of them. He is thus able to cite not only the first edition of his own *Hadrian. The Restless Emperor* (London 1997) but also its second edition which was published at the same time as this volume (2000).

In Part II W. Eck gives an admirably clear and succinct account of the empire's government and civil administration. I can confidently predict that pp. 240-4, detailing the administrative posts in the areas under imperial control, will be much cribbed by students writing assignments and are even likely to be excised for that purpose by the less scrupulous. A third section, The Empire, ventures from the descriptive into more theoretical territory with C. R. Whittaker's account (ch. 8) of frontiers, and ancient and modern

concepts of what a frontier was, and Roman "frontier policy" based upon an ideology of infinite expansionism, and Brent Shaw's essay on Rebels and Outsiders (ch. 11). The latter has good points to make about banditry, as we would expect from his fundamental article in *P&P* 105 (1984) 3-52, and about the Roman theatre as a microcosm of the social order. But he seems to me to have wasted half a page with his figure 1 on p. 375, which as far as I can see adds little to his argument. These two offerings bracket the much more sober and factual accounts by M. Hassall of the Roman army of this period (ch. 9) and by H. Galsterer, on local provincial institutions and government (ch. 10), presenting the flip side, as it were, to Eck's Chapter 7. As always, the comparison of perspective which this arrangement provides is most welcome.

Part IV, which is the longest section in the volume, follows the pattern of *CAH X*² by giving an historical description of the different regions of the empire, beginning with Rome and Italy itself (ch. 12). This is followed by chapters (13-22) on Spain, Gaul, Roman Germany, Africa, Cyrenaica, Britain, the Danube provinces, Greece and Asia Minor, Syria and Arabia, and Judaea. It will be seen that not every province or region has been granted a place and readers of *BASP* will be disappointed to see that Egypt is not featured at all, despite the presence of Alan Bowman and Dominic Rathbone, both well known for their work on the history and society of Roman Egypt, as Editors of this volume.

The justification given by the Editors (p. xix) is that Egypt is treated in the new editions of Volumes X and XII. Yet events in Egypt during this period surely merit its inclusion as a region at least as illustrative of "an age marked by dangerous external attacks contained with difficulty and some of the most serious internal revolts ever raised against Roman rule" (p. xix) as any of Rome's other provinces. While it is accepted that it is impossible to cover everything, the Jewish revolt in Egypt, the revolt of the Boukoloi, and the support which Egypt gave to Avidius Cassius all merit attention from a regional viewpoint as do the effects of the Antonine plague there or the visit of Hadrian and the foundation of Antinoopolis. It is also the case that Bowman's own contribution on Egypt in *CAH X*² ch. 14b, while excellent, naturally concentrates upon the Roman conquest of the country and the establishment of

the Roman administration there and has little to say of second century developments.

Maps are provided for several of these chapters on the regions. Many of them appear to be repeated from *CAH* X², although it is worrying to see that on the general map (p. xvi) Antinoopolis did not exist in the time of Marcus Aurelius but Chester and York did (and under those names). For some reason, too, all the cities of Cyrenaica have dropped off the map of Africa (p. 516), while the road system has been omitted from the Cyrenaica map (p. 548). The Danubian and German regions are also less well served than in the preceding volume (no map at all of the latter).

At least the maps are repeated. An annoyance which recurs several times in Part III is to find oneself referred back to *CAH* X² for essential bibliography. With a work of this type it is mistaken to assume that all readers will have access to other volumes in the series, given their size and expense and the demands likely to be put upon a limited number of library copies. Each *CAH* volume should really be able to stand alone in this regard and it would surely be more appropriate for such information to be repeated again. After all, it would have taken up little enough space given the tiny font size used in the footnotes.

It is with Part Va that this new edition diverges most widely from the first edition. Where previously we had chapters on Latin literature of the silver age, social life in Rome and Italy, art from Nero to the Antonines, and classical Roman law, we now find a section on Economy and Society which is the second longest of the whole work. Truly an age of iron, but a bright and polished one nonetheless. The materials which made up the sections of J. Wight Duff's long chapter on social life in *CAH* XI¹ ch. XIX have been recycled and remade in the light of more recent historical concerns and perspectives. In their place we are now given chapters (23-29) on The Land, Trade, Industry and Technology, Commerce and Finance, Demography, Status and Patronage, and Family and Household. The subject matter of these is often challenging, the writing sometimes necessarily technical, but all of them can be read with profit by expert and novice alike and the details often resonate frighteningly with some of our modern concerns about pollution or potential disaster (p. 793: "an estimated million cubic metres of

human waste produced each year by Rome;" pp. 815-6: "the quite literal decimation of the empire's population by the arrival in 165 of what was probably smallpox").

Part Vb, the final section of the volume, covers Art and Culture, with chapters (30-35) on Literacy, Literature and Sophistic, Philosophy, Medicine, Art and Architecture, and Religion. A notable divergence from the first edition is the omission here of any detailed account of silver Latin literature, for which the Editors refer us (p. xx) to *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*. This is understandable given the amount of space which any worthwhile account of the literature of this period would have demanded, but it is an irritant to be sent yet again to *CAH* X² and XII² to find out about the important developments in law which took place during this period or something about the further spread of Christianity.

In conclusion, this second edition is a worthy successor to *CAH* XI¹, which itself still has much to offer. Despite the book's price (it is to be hoped that it will appear in several paperback sections in due course) it is one which should be on the shelves of every professional ancient historian. But unfortunately those particularly interested in Roman Egypt, or Roman law, or the spread of Christianity in this period (i.e. much of *BASP*'s readership) will need to dig deeper to ensure that they also have *CAH* X² and XII² bracketing it.

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- LANIADO, AVSHALOM. *Recherches sur les Notables Municipaux dans l'Empire Protobyzantin*. Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance 13. Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance; 2002. xxxi + 296 pages. ISBN 2-9519198-1-6.
- LLEWELYN, S.R. (ed.) *A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1986-87*. New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity 9. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company; 2002. xvi + 136 pages. ISBN 0-8028-4519-3.
- PIEKARSKI, DIRK. *Die Keramik aus Naukratis im Akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn*. Bonner Sammlung von Aegyptiaca 4. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz Verlag; 2001. 59 pages + 29 tables. ISBN 3-447-04443-8.
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- SCHUBERT, PAUL and ISABELLE JORNOT (eds.) *Les Papyrus de Genève. Premier volume, 2^e édition*. Geneva: Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève; 2002. xiv + 286 pages + 60 plates. ISBN 2-88220-021-8.
- SCHUBERT, PAUL. *Vivre en Égypte Gréco-Romaine*. Vevey: Éditions de l'Aire; 2000. 200 pages. ISBN 2-88108-562-8.
- WOLFF, HANS JULIUS. *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaeer und des Prinzipats. Erster Band*. Herausgegeben von H.-A. Rupprecht. Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag; 2002. xix + 276 pages. ISBN 3-406-48164-7.